

LETTERS
ADDRESSED TO THE
RIGHT HON. LORD M——,
ON THE LATE
EXPEDITIONS
TO
THE SPANISH MAIN;

AND ON THE EXPEDICENCY OF
A Gradual and Systematical Emancipation
OF
SPANISH AMERICA;
INCLUDING

The Sketch of a Plan for effecting it in a Manner
beneficial to Great Britain and that Country.

BY A NATIVE OF SPANISH AMERICA.

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1807.

P R E F A C E.

THE Author of the following pages is a Native of Spanish America, where he resided till he was upwards of twenty years of age; at which period he came to England. He has since by the King's favour been made a British subject; and his long residence in this country, his marriage, connections, habits, and predilection in favour of its manners and customs, have made him an Englishman. From this double relation he thinks himself peculiarly called upon at this juncture to offer his sentiments, and to publish what a personal knowledge of Spanish America, of its produce, and of the customs and manners of its inhabitants, as well as long and deep reflexions on the subject, has convinced him would be most conducive to the prosperity of both countries. He trusts that his motive will be a sufficient apology for his intrusion

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in the present critical state of Spanish America, and hopes he shall obtain the indulgence of the reader for any foreign idioms, or faults of style, that may occur in this hasty composition; flattering himself that, considering the importance of the subject, purity of intention will atone for the want of purity or elegance in diction.

His attachment to England, though uppermost in his bosom, has not, however, obliterated his affection for his native country. Happy would he be if his feeble voice should contribute to bring about a more intimate connexion between them, convinced as he is that their common interest strongly demands it, and that it would prove not only mutually advantageous to them, but beneficial to the interests of humanity, by the advancement of arts, sciences, commerce, and civilization.

ADVERTISEMENT.

These Letters were prepared for the press previous to the arrival of the late intelligence from Spanish America. The possession of Monte Video has, probably, been followed by the re-capture of Buenos Ayres; but the author's reasoning is not shaken by these events; on the contrary, the determined defence made by the garrison of Monte Video, in which so much blood was shed, shows that he has formed a just judgment of the opposition to be expected in a scheme of conquering Spanish America by force of arms, and of course strengthens the claim of his plan to the consideration of his Majesty's Government.

April 21, 1807.



LETTERS

TO THE

RIGHT HON. LORD M——,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER I.

MY LORD,

HOWEVER highly flattered I feel by the importance your Lordship is pleased to attach to the publication of my ideas on Spanish America, which have been the frequent subject of our conversations for these last five years; whatever credit my vanity is inclined to arrogate from the result of the expeditions undertaken by Miranda and Sir Home Popham, a result which your Lordship will do me the justice to say that I predicted from the moment those expeditions were known to the

public; it is with the utmost diffidence I undertake the task your Lordship's partiality has assigned to me as a duty, to the performance of which I feel myself inadequate.

If I could have prevailed on your Lordship to lend me the assistance of your pen, my ideas, which have been so much improved by your reflections and judgment, clothed in your language, might have appeared not unworthy of the public attention; but it is with much reluctance, that in obedience to your Lordship's repeated commands, I submit them to your indulgence in their present uncouth state, trusting, however, that your partiality will not blind your judgment. I yield to your desire of publishing them, if you persist in thinking, that in the present situation of things their publication can be of any service to my adopted country.

So much of my reasoning rests on the extent, state, manners, genius, habits, and prejudices of the various classes that compose the population of Spanish America, and so little seems to me to
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be known of those important subjects, even by the enlightened part of the British public, that I think it absolutely necessary for the illustration of my arguments to preface them by a short statement of the nature of the population of Spanish America.

From the information I have been able to collect on this point, I can confidently assert, that the civilized population of Spanish America, scattered from the 40th degree of north to the 40th of south latitude (exclusive of Cuba and other islands), does not fall much short of seven millions, and very likely exceeds that computation. The kingdoms of Old and New Mexico, California, and the Floridas, contain above three millions. The remainder is more thinly scattered in the kingdoms of Peru, Grenada, la Plata, and the governments of Terra Firma, Venezuela, Caracas, Guiana, and Chili.

Besides the common distinctions which birth, education, and fortune have introduced among the people of every civilized state, Spanish America

has some peculiar to itself; and the inhabitants may be divided into various classes as different from one another, in condition, in manner, in habits, as they are in origin, colour, and prejudices; they are even subject to different laws, and their only common feature is a strong attachment to the Catholic mode of worship.

1st. The first class is composed of a very small number of natives of Spain, called *Cheysetoues*, who repair thither to hold for a few years the principal and most lucrative posts of government; they are forbidden to marry, and to acquire or possess any landed estate in America. Their places and their power assign them the first rank in society; haughty and supercilious by nature, they affect the greatest superiority over the American Spaniard, whom they keep at a great distance.

2d. Those called Creoles make up from one to two-tenths of the whole population; they fill all the secondary and inferior stations of the treasury, the law, the militia; and from this class

is exclusively composed (a few European friars and missionaries excepted) a numerous and powerful clergy. The number and hierarchy of its members, the reputed sanctity of their functions, the learning and eminent virtues of many, and the immense wealth of the whole body, conciliate to them the respect of all classes of people, and give them a prodigious influence over the inferior ones; especially over the Indians, of whom they have been, ever since the conquest (be it said to their great praise and honour), the constant zealous advocates and protectors.

Though most of the Creoles called themselves nobles, pride has established a variety of ranks among them; some boast of being descended from the original conquerors, others are mere *Cabalieros*, &c.

This class, besides the secondary public offices, possess almost all the lands and riches of the country; but leaving to their stewards the management of their immense estates, and disdaining as drudgery the occupations of an agricultural or

commercial life, they chiefly live in towns, in idleness and luxury, unmindful of increasing their fortune, and, though not deficient in parts or learning, are less ambitious to distinguish themselves by any acquirements, than to gratify their vanity by some rank in the militia, some title of nobility, the ensignia of an order, or a doctor's gown: in short every kind of frivolous distinction is an object of their petty ambition.

3d. The third class is composed of the free negroes and people of colour; who bear a proportion of from two to three tenths of the whole population. They are mostly poor labourers, unskilful mechanics, or petty tradesmen. The distinction of colour is not quite so rigidly attended to in the Spanish colonies. The colonists have not the same abhorrence to the mixture of blood; and the offsprings of alliances between the whites and blacks are not exposed to the same contempt, nor stamped with the same reprobation, as is the case in other European colonies. Still, public opinion has assigned to pure blood and the white colour a high degree of pre-eminence, and distinctions.

tinctions, enforced by the laws of the country, which are extremely mortifying to the vanity of this third class, and contribute to keep them in a state of poverty and depression. They are excluded from all public places of trust, they are forbidden to wear certain dresses, and to kneel on a stool or cushion at church. The king has the power of granting to any family of colour he pleases, the privileges of a Spaniard, and he sometimes confers that favour on those who have attained any degree of opulence and education. This grant removes at once those invidious distinctions so galling to vanity which is the characteristic feature of the third as well as of the second class of people ; but they are seldom, if ever, promoted to any eminent public situation.

4th. The fourth class is composed of the negro slaves : these are the labourers. If less work is exacted of them than of the slaves in other European colonies, their condition is worse in other respects ; they are suffered to go almost naked, are badly fed, and live in extreme misery.

5th. The fifth class is composed of what is called the civilized Indians. Their number and condition vary a good deal, according to the places where they live. Except a few of them which are to be found in all large towns, they live in villages and districts entirely by themselves.

In the vicinity of the mines, though free, they are attached by a species of service to the soil, and each parish is obliged to furnish its quota of labourers for the mines. Experience has shown that Africans are totally unfit for that work, and that the native Indian alone can resist the cold climate and noxious atmosphere of a country abounding in mines. Every where else they are treated with great lenity, governed by municipal magistrates chosen among themselves, protected by particular civil and ecclesiastical laws, and almost exempt from taxes and other burthens attending a state of social life.

Notwithstanding the constant and paternal care of the government and of their spiritual leaders to improve

improve their condition, they have hitherto made but a slow progress in civilization and industry ; they are still, in general, a set of lazy, ignorant, wretches, scarcely above brutes ; they live in filth and sloth, without the least taste for the comforts of life, and therefore without exertions to acquire them ; addicted to the grossest vices, drunkenness, lying, &c. to such a degree, that in courts of justice the evidence of twenty Indians is required to prove a fact, where the evidence of a single Spaniard is sufficient.

They fear and hate the Spaniards. Many of them retain the customs of their ancestors, and though nominally christians, and much attached to the ceremonies of the catholic worship, are addicted to several superstitious and barbarous rites.

Besides these five classes of inhabitants, Spanish America contains a great number of independent tribes of uncivilized Indians, differing in customs and language. Some acknowledge a kind of allegiance to the Spaniards, and carry on a little trade with

with them; some are in a perpetual state of warfare with them ; some cultivate maize and other vegetables for their consumption, breed a great number of horses and cattle, and even manufacture some coarse articles of cotton; some inhabit inaccessible mountains and forests, or the borders of great lakes and rivers, where they live by hunting and fishing, or upon the spontaneous produce of the earth ; some are warlike, some inoffensive, but all of them hate the Spaniards ; fear, indeed, overawes their hatred ; but were any internal commotion to distract the Spanish government, it would immediately break forth among these revengeful savages, who by a total extermination of the Europeans would retaliate on their oppressors, on the usurpers of their country, with the ferocity of long restrained revenge, and deep accumulated wrongs. Even among the Peruvians and Mexicans, who have been subject to the laws of Spain for three centuries, converted to the religion of the conquerors, and better amalgamated with them than any other Indian nation, the remembrance of their ancestors, of the greatness, of the power, of the laws of their empire, and of the
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rites of their religion, is not entirely obliterated ; tradition and national songs have handed them down to the present generation ; the appearance of a popular leader, of some enthusiast, in short the least occurrence would be sufficient to electrify the spirit of patriotism, which like the spark beneath hot embers, is still alive, though restrained by the powerful hand of a coercive government. The least relaxation in vigilance, or internal commotion would be likely to effect a general revolution, as appeared lately by the extensive insurrections that took place in the kingdom of Grenada in 1782 and 1795, and among the Peruvians headed by the descendants of the Incas in 1797, which went very nigh to effect the total subversion of the Spanish power in America ; the constant dread of such an event, sensible as the people are that the least internal commotion might give rise to it, has in my opinion contributed more than any thing else to preserve to the present time, the connection between Spanish America and Spain, and the quiet subjection of the Creoles to a distant government which they equally hate and despise.

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Since the emancipation of North America, the other European colonies (Brazils excepted) bear only a small proportion to their respective parent states; their inhabitants have their eyes constantly turned toward them, and consider themselves as passengers where they live; if they work, if they economise, it is in hopes of enjoying ease, comfort, and consideration in the mother country, where they generally have their share of the civil and military employments.

The case, my Lord, is very different with the Spanish colonies; they form of themselves countries entirely distinct from Spain; they do not depend upon her for subsistence, clothing, or any of the necessaries of life; they scarcely import from her any article which habit has rendered agreeable or useful. Their own soil yields, with slight labour, all articles of food, of excellent quality, in greater proportion than the inhabitants can consume, and this more than compensates for the checks on their population, which is increasing rapidly. It produces, besides, many valuable exchangeable commodities, more than sufficient to

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procure all the articles of European manufacture they stand in need of.

Spain is no mother country to them ; there is no natural or artificial tie between the two countries, except a common origin, and the same language, in respect to one of the five classes that compose the inhabitants. Anxious as this class is to obtain lucrative employments or distinctions in America, they never go in quest of them to Spain, where few of them, if any at all, fill places of profit or trust. They have their own colleges, their seminaries, their universities, and seldom if ever send their children to Europe to be educated, as is generally the case in other European colonies. Therefore neither ambition, avarice, nor even curiosity can induce them to visit Spain, which, in fact, few of them do. Seeing every year a fresh influx of Spaniards to their shores, they take it for granted that America must be infinitely preferable, and their indolence confirms them in that opinion. What motive, say they, could prompt the Spaniards to leave their homes and families if they were comfortable ? So great

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is their attachment to their native soil, and so decided their preference for America, that it is not uncommon, when a Spaniard marries a Creole lady with some fortune, for the parent of the bride to oblige the husband to give security not to sell the estate, nor to take his wife to Spain.

Your Lordship is too well acquainted with human nature not to conclude from this plain and faithful statement of the disposition of that class of people who have engrossed wealth and learning, how much their pride must be wounded by the power and affected superiority of a handful of native Spaniards sent to rule over them; they consider them as tyrants, and usurpers of their rights, just as they themselves are considered by the descendants of the Aborigines. Hence their hatred of their rulers; and from the consciousness of their strength arises their contempt of a government too weak and too distant to protect, but strong enough to oppress them. They feel that the natural jealousy of a government conscious of its weakness has not only doomed them for ever to political nullity, but that its obvious policy

policy is to check by severe restrictions the increase of their population, industry, and prosperity.

From these premises the natural inference is, that independence must be the wish of the generality of the second class; and that it is, I can also affirm from my personal knowledge of their disposition. They all sigh for a government of their own; and I may predict without being too bold, that the moment is not far distant when disaffection will break out into open insurrection, and when they will assert their independence. That this event has not already taken place, must be ascribed in some degree to the ease, effeminity, and natural supineness of the Creoles, and principally to the fear of the probable consequences of an internal commotion, which the insurrections of the Indians, already alluded to, have impressed most forcibly upon the minds of the people.

LETTER II.

My Lord,

From the plain statement contained in the preceding letter of the condition and disposition of the various classes of people that compose the population of Spanish America, it is obvious that the apprehensions of the Creoles are but too well founded. Who is so blind as not to see that in a state composed of such jarring elements the least commotion might reduce it to a chaos? that a spark falling on such combustible materials might occasion a general conflagration, that would in an instant reduce the social edifice to ashes?

These considerations have made such an impression upon my mind, that, anxious as I am to see my native country rescued from its present bondage, I have constantly deprecated the success of Miranda's expedition, even at a time when his rash and dangerous undertaking had your Lordship's

ship's best wishes. Being fully convinced that in a man of your Lordship's strong sense and sound judgment, such an opinion could proceed but from a want of sufficient knowledge of the moral and political circumstances of the country, I entered into the present discussion, and I soon had the pleasure of seeing your Lordship made a convert to my opinions on the subject, and that not by the force of argument, but by laying clearly before you the present state of the country, and some facts not generally known in Europe, on account of the little intercourse this part of the world has with Spanish America. From those facts your Lordship immediately deduced the same inferences that I had drawn long ago; you were convinced that, if left to himself, Miranda must meet an ignominious death, be forced to flight, or bring misery and destruction on the devoted country where he might happen to land.

In a country where religious superstition, pride, love of rank and distinction are the characteristic features of the inhabitants, could it be reasonably expected that they would forsake the established

government to join a handful of needy, and therefore greedy, vagabonds and freebooters, headed by an adventurer, who never enjoyed in his native country any influence from personal consideration, birth, fortune, or family connexion; who had been banished for upwards of thirty years from his country, where, if he has been at all popular since, it must be by his Jacobinical opinions and exploits in the worst times of the French revolution. A fine allurement, indeed, to a proud and rich nobility, possessed of numerous slaves, to a wealthy and zealous clergy, to a bigoted people, was the prospect of a *theophilanthropist Columbian Republic*, on the principles of *liberty, equality, fraternity, or death*, and under the consulship of *Citizen Miranda, member of the society of Jacobins, and of the Friends of the Blacks!*

If his expedition could have been kept secret, and had he found the government unprepared to repel the attack ; and if dismay or supineness had given him time to obtain a footing in that devoted country, is it not obvious that such a man, from want

want of other auxiliaries, must have sought assistance among fetters and prisons ? He would have been compelled to raise the slaves against their masters, to stir up the dregs of the people, and in order to procure a sufficient number of associates, would very likely have distributed arms and brandy to the ferocious tribes of Indians that encompass the Spanish settlements ; and the only possible result of a success of this kind must have been the repetition of such scenes of horror as have disgraced humanity in St. Domingo, and the extinction of agriculture, arts, civilization, and trade in those fine countries that now promise such rich fields for the exertion of British industry.

It is generally reported that General Crauford's expedition is gone to assist Miranda's efforts to overthrow the Spanish government in Terra Firme ; but I cannot bring myself to believe that the wise and humane government of a country, whose laws consider treason as a greater crime than parricide, has ever or will ever countenance the wild projects of that ambitious revolutionist ; but if, contrary to my opinion, the British forces were to act

in concert with him, I am confident that his assistance, instead of being found useful to the ultimate success of any expedition, would have no other effect, than to promote resistance, and I should fear would lead them into some most deplorable dilemma. Better would it be for the credit of the British commander to act with his own forces alone, imprudent as the plan is, as I shall be able, I think, to prove : but as a natural introduction to the subject I shall briefly discuss the merits of the expedition to Buenos Ayres ; cautiously abstaining, however, from throwing any reflexions on the motives and conduct of the officers who conducted it, and who are said to have incurred the responsibility of planning it without instructions.

In spite of the result of the investigation that has taken place, and whatever may be your Lordship's private opinion on the subject, it would ill become me to condemn officers hitherto so meritorious, either on the ground of erroneous judgment or want of success ; I will therefore, for argument's sake, suppose that the commanders took nothing upon themselves, but that the government,

vernment, considering Spain as an enemy, had resolved to carry on the war actively against her, and to take whatever they could of her trans-atlantic possessions. In that case, I make bold to say, that nothing could have been less adviseable than an attack upon Buenos Ayres; that the conquest, and occupation of that place, would serve no purpose either in war, or in peace, and that considered either in a military or commercial point of view, it must have become not only a useless but an expensive burden to the British nation. And so strongly am I impressed with the truth of this proposition, that I firmly believe that the recapture of this place by the Spaniards will prove far less injurious to the nation in general, (except as to the loss of our gallant soldiers,) and even to the mercantile interest of the country, notwithstanding the immense amount of the premature and imprudent speculations of rash adventurers, than the quiet possession of it would have done. If Sir Samuel Achmuty is able, by a display of his forces, to compel the Spanish governor to give up his prisoners, and should he bring them back safe to England, the loss of the place ought

to be a matter of congratulation rather than of regret; and I should consider it as the best possible termination of the adventure, only to have sunk the sum required for the necessary expences incurred by so distant an expedition, and to have lost for a year the use of 5000 of our best troops, which we might have employed elsewhere to great advantage.

If my opinion be right, your Lordship will do me the justice to recollect, that I entertained it at the time when such extravagant expectations were raised by the capture of Buenos Ayres, and that the subsequent reverse had no influence whatever on my way of thinking.

The romantic accounts inserted at the time in most of the newspapers betrayed either gross ignorance in the writers of them, or great confidence in the ignorance of the readers whom they were intended to impose upon. They represented the new acquisition as yielding gold and silver in abundance; precious stones, indigo, bark, cochineal, &c.; and though every one might have been

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a sufficient judge of the imposture by only reflecting that the soil of Buenos Ayres, lying in about 35 degrees of south latitude, the climate of which in America is almost the same as that of the 40th degree in Europe, cannot yield any tropical produce, yet such was the general infatuation, that the few who did not participate in the general exultation, were looked upon as wishing ill to their country, and government was so far obliged to yield to the torrent of popular prejudice, as not to discourage either directly or indirectly the speculations that took place immediately, and which were of such an inconsiderate magnitude, that in my opinion, the adventurers will lose no more, and perhaps less in having their commodities brought home again, than they would have lost had they been safely landed at the place of their destination, which would have been overstocked with goods for ten years to come.

When this was represented to the speculators, they answered triumphantly, that by the possession of Buenos Ayres we had acquired the trade of Chili and Peru, that British goods would

easily find their way into those wealthy countries, and they rapturously anticipated the golden returns; they spoke of the markets of Lima and St. Jago, as if the communication had been as easy with those places by canals and turnpike roads as between some market towns about this metropolis; and they were quite angry with those who told them that Lima was upwards of three thousand geographical miles distant from Buenos Ayres, and that those countries were separated by wildernesses inhabited by savage tribes, and by mountains almost impassable, the highest in the world, and perpetually covered with snow.

I know that within the last century, the progress made by the missionaries has opened a communication and a little trade between the kingdoms of La Plata, Chili, and Peru; but that trade wholly consists, in the first place, of an article of indispensable necessity, and of great value in little bulk; I mean the Paraquay herb, which habit has rendered as much a necessary of life in the western, as tea is in the eastern part of the world; and, in the next, of negroes and mules, a certain number of which is conveyed,

conveyed, that is, made to walk every year across the Cordilleras from Buenos Ayres to Potosi, Lima, and Chili ; in return for which a small quantity of gold and silver is received. But the possession of Buenos Ayres did not even secure us that inconsiderable traffic, and in a commercial or military point of view, that settlement is perhaps the worst we could have chosen in the whole Spanish main.

Considered independently as a conquest, it is situated at the farthest end of Spanish America, the most distant from us, near 250 miles inland, up a large river, the navigation of which is extremely difficult and dangerous on account of its numerous shallows, sand-banks, and the dreadful hurricanes to which it is exposed ; which is destitute of a safe harbour, and where the landing of goods is as difficult as it is expensive, the banks being so shallow that the shipping must lie at a great distance from the shore, and in constant danger of being driven from their moorings, and stranded; consequently Buenos Ayres is a situation of all others the most expensive for the conveyance of goods, and of the troops and military

stores

stores necessary to secure the possession of it. Even as a place of refreshment for our Indian and South Sea trades, Brazils and the Cape of Good Hope are far preferable, both on account of the intricacy of the navigation of the Rio de la Plata, and of the facility they afford of carrying on clandestine trade with the Portuguese settlements.

Considered as an *entrepôt* for the commerce of South America, it certainly is the worst situation we could choose. Our commodities, after the expense of conveyance to the furthermost point of civilized America, would be just at the very greatest distance from the populous and opulent part of it; whither, even supposing that a free trade were allowed, they must be conveyed by land a thousand leagues northward, across desert countries and steep mountains, and through barbarous tribes of savages; for it is well known, that, except a few inconsiderable settlements along the banks of the Rio de la Plata, the whole of that extensive country is uncopled. The next place to Buenos Ayres, up the river, dignified with the appellation of town, is Stafé, which lies about 260 miles

miles N. W. of it, and is probably nothing more than a straggling village, like Turnham Green. The next town, which is of about the same importance as ~~Stafé~~, is Corrientes, situated about 300 miles higher up the river.

Besides, it is idle to suppose that by keeping possession of Buenos Ayres we should secure the trade even of that part of the Spanish territories. The natural anxiety and jealousy of the Spanish Government would no doubt induce it to prohibit all intercourse by the severest penalties; at any rate, our commodities must pass as usual through the hands of the smuggler or of the Custom-house officer, and come to the Spanish consumer loaded with that charge as before, besides the enormous expense of doubling or trebling the distance of conveyance by sea and land. The immediate prospect of trade would be therefore confined to the consumption of about thirty or forty thousand inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, two-thirds of whom are slaves, or poor wretches who have very little idea of the elegance, or even of the comforts of life, and still less have they the means of procuring

procuring them. The remainder of the inhabitants, though living in plenty, have no other exchangeable commodities to give in return for European goods than hides and tallow, which must sink in quantity, and rise in price, in proportion to the increase of population and cultivation of the country.

The future advantages to be derived from it would not offer a much brighter prospect, for the climate being the same as that of the temperate part of Europe, would produce only the same articles; of course, few exchangeable commodities, and those such as we could at any time procure from a nearer market, and therefore at a less expense. Supposing that in course of time hemp and tobacco could be imported in great quantity from Buenos Ayres, we must pay for them as we pay for what we import now from Russia and Virginia, with this difference, that freight and insurance would be more expensive for these bulky commodities; and as we can only consume a certain quantity of them, if Buenos Ayres should be able to supply our wants, Virginia and Russia could not take

take the same quantity of our manufactures, from the want of marketable goods to give us in return. The probable consequence of such a state of things would be to compel the Virginians to become a manufacturing people, and to rival us in several branches of industry, the produce of which they now buy with their tobacco, and which they then would manufacture themselves with those hands that could no longer find a profitable employment in the cultivation of their present staple. At any rate it would be but a change of market and customers, not an extension of trade ; and with this difference, that our present trade with Russia and Virginia is carried on, not only without any national expense, but being mutually profitable, contributes greatly to maintain a friendly intercourse with those nations ; whereas our trade with so distant a colony as Buenos Ayres would be necessarily attended with a great public expense, and very probably be the means of embroiling us in fresh quarrels and wars

Buenos Ayres being an extensive town, in an open country, without any natural or artificial defence,

fence, could not be protected against the Spaniards and barbarous Indians, without a large establishment, the expense of which must ultimately come out of the pockets of the people of England ; a proof of which we had in the very Gazette that announced the capture, for which we are to pay to the captors that part of the treasure taken, and which they employed in defraying public expenses.

From these premises I believe I am warranted to conclude, that, in a commercial, political, and military point of view, the capture of Buenos Ayres could not be expedient, nor the possession of it advantageous to England, but that, on the contrary, they must prove ultimately, not only useless, but an expensive burthen on the British nation.

LETTER III.

My Lord,

I am not a little proud when I consider that your Lordship, in perusing my second letter anticipated the conclusions I was going to draw; that you were immediately sensible that most of my arguments against the occupation of Buenos Ayres bore as forcibly against the occupation of any other place or seaport on the Spanish main; and that you judged such a scheme could never be expedient.

The advantages other places might possess on account of their proximity to England and to the best markets in America, would be amply counterbalanced by the greater unhealthiness of their situation; and though perhaps some good harbours might be pointed out, the particular situations of which would render them susceptible of being protected by a smaller garrison than that which would

would be requisite for the protection of an open place like Buenos Ayres, I apprehend that the possession of such a place ultimately would be attended with a still greater waste of men and money to England, without procuring to our commerce any adequate advantage; nay, it might possibly hurt the lucrative clandestine trade carried on from some of our possessions contiguous to the most populous and opulent part of the Spanish main, as the Government, from a natural fear and jealousy, as well as from resentment of such an injury, would most likely prohibit with increased rigour all intercourse with a martial and ambitious neighbour*. It might perhaps rouse an hostile spirit even in the minds of the inhabitants of the country itself, as appears to have been the case at Buenos Ayres, where, in seeking for a more extensive and free

* The policy of our holding the fortress of Gibraltar has been called in question by many eminent statesmen in England, not only as being an useless and burdensome possession, but because, by wounding the pride of Spain, it has deprived us of a natural and useful ally, and has contributed perhaps more than any thing else to throw her entirely in the arms of our natural enemy.

trade, we have lost the very valuable and lucrative one we had indirectly carried on there for a century, and since the beginning of the war directly, in ships laden in the Thames, clearing for Rio de la Plata with the licence of both Governments. At any rate our commodities from any entrepôt could not reach the consumers without passing through the Spanish Custom-house or the hands of smugglers, as is the case with those imported or smuggled from Jamaica or Trinidad. Islands which are so conveniently situated for that trade, and considered as établissements, are much superior situations to any on the Spanish main, as they require no further national expense beyond the establishment necessary for the protection of those settlements, which have besides an independent value. Expensive establishments are most certainly ruinous to any commercial scheme. It is a known fact, that the South Sea Company were obliged to abandon their factories at Porto Bello and Panama, as they found that the expense of maintaining them was more than the profit arising from an almost exclusive trade with Peru and Terra Firma.

British goods imported by Spanish smugglers are every year exhibited in plenty at the fair of Porto Bello, and thence find their way into Peru and Chili, which countries can be supplied with European goods by that channel much more easily than by the circuitous route of Buenos Ayres.

Believe me, my Lord, all the projectors and abettors of such wild schemes of conquest and entrepôts conceal their selfish views under the mask of a feigned zeal for the prosperity of their country ; they would recommend any expedition, let it be ever so expensive to the nation, without any possible national advantage to be derived from it, provided they have a prospect of filling their private purses, and of enriching themselves by the plunder they anticipate from these marauding expeditions.

I now and then meet some of them, who, beaten out of their position by irrefragable arguments and the late events of Buenos Ayres, reluctantly confess that that unconnected conquest will prove both burdensome and useless, but still unwilling

unwilling to relinquish their prey, they recommend some wild plans of extensive conquest, such as all or the greatest part of Spanish America, as the only means of rescuing those countries from the control, and perhaps from the ambitious grasp, of Buonaparte, and of opening to British trade and industry new and extensive channels, to compensate for those which our enemy has lately cut off from us.

The present circumstances of Europe press so hard upon the sources of our public and private prosperity, our future prospects on the Continent are so little consolatory, the avowed design of our enemy to strike at the root of our prosperity, the violent means he employs to accomplish his purpose, the knowledge we have that he will stop at nothing, not even at the ruin of his usurped empire, if he can effect ours, and the consciousness we have that as long as he wields the sceptre of Europe, whatever freedom of trade may temporarily be suffered to exist will be held under the frail tenure of his capricious, violent, and malevolent disposition, render every one sensible of the criti-

cal situation of the British commerce and empire. A vague and undefined sentiment that something great must be done to alter the present order of things, seems to pervade the mind of the public, and predisposes it to adopt, eagerly and inconsiderately, any plausible scheme that is likely to retrieve us from our unsettled and painful situation.

The public, like a patient labouring under a chronical disease, suffering in body and mind, are inclined to listen to any quack that promises them a speedy cure. Under such circumstances, I do not wonder that a scheme should be eagerly received for the conquest of Spanish America. And though I believe that such a scheme will appear to cool reflection more specious than solid, more brilliant than wise and politic ; and can by no means apprehend that your Lordship's judgment should be dazzled by it, yet when I consider how much it flatters national pride, gratifies private avarice and ambition, and when I allow for the natural inclination, even in the best of ministers, to increase their patronage, I cannot but entertain

entertain some fear that the public will fly after this will-o'-the-wisp, and suffer for the ignorance or folly that misleads them. This fear, I trust, will be a sufficient apology for briefly stating my opinions, and endeavouring to show the im-policy of attempting the conquest of Spanish America.

Many of our wisest and truly patriotic statesmen have entertained an opinion that we have already but too many distant possessions ; that they rather tend to weaken than to strengthen our political body, in undermining our constitution by an overgrown patronage and influence, and exhausting our resources by the large expenses of the establishments they require at all times, but especially for their protection during war, in which we have frequently been involved on their account. It is a known fact that none of our colonies, not even the opulent one of Jamaica, can afford to defray the expense of the large establishments we are obliged to maintain in them, and which the love of patronage continually tends to increase beyond necessity. Nay, even India,

where we have above twenty millions of industrious subjects inhabiting the most fertile country in the world, and where we raise annually above fifteen millions sterling in taxes, so far from contributing a single shilling toward the heavy expenses incurred in her protection by the British navy, is likely to add thirty-one millions more to our national debt. Many well-informed persons are of opinion that our capital and industry would insure us every advantage we can possibly derive from an exclusive trade, without the expense attending distant settlements, and they illustrate their argument with the example arising from the defection of North America, whose independence was considered by short-sighted politicians as a heavy calamity, but which ultimately proved a most advantageous event to Great Britain by relieving her from the expenses of government and protection, while our trade with that country has progressively increased since its separation, and is now more than double what it was when it made a part of the British empire.

How far, notwithstanding this example, it would

would be prudent to indulge in experiments on these abstract theories is more than I find myself competent to determine; but at the same time that I should feel inclined to tax with temerity a scheme for giving up Jamaica, or any other British colony peopled by Englishmen; I should not hesitate to censure one for adding to our already over-extensive foreign possessions, vast and distant regions, inhabited by people totally differing from us in language, laws, manners, and religion; and I would rather recommend to improve what we possess, than to yield to the glittering but delusive ambition of making immense conquests.

The danger of too expanded a system of colonization cannot be better exemplified than by the present state of Spain; and Parliament seems to have been aware of its dangerous consequences by their wise regulations to prevent the colonization of India.

Difference of language, manners, and still more of religion, will always be an insuperable obstacle to the incorporation and union of any two na-

tions. Fanaticism and national prejudices would probably prompt Spanish America to resistance, and render any plan of conquest very difficult, if not abortive; and, as your Lordship very justly observed to me one day, the riper a people are for independence from a consciousness of their own strength, the more will their pride be hurt by the idea of being conquered. This political axiom has been strongly illustrated by the late occurrences at Buenos Ayres, if we credit the reports that have been circulated here respecting the causes of our expulsion from that place.

But suppose, my Lord, for argument's sake, that we should succeed ultimately in conquering any important part, or the whole of Spanish America, it certainly would be at a great expense of blood and treasure. What would be the consequence, the obvious consequence, of our success? Annual loans of twenty or thirty millions, and the progressive rise of the income tax to the rate of 15 or 20 per cent. to defray the still greater annual expenditure for the building and repairing of forts, harbours, citadels; for the maintenance of
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the numerous garrisons, governors, magistrates ; in short, for the civil and military establishment necessary to keep in subjection such newly conquered and extensive countries. What a drain of our population from emigration, encouraged by the weight of taxes at home, and the fallacious hope of a speedy fortune abroad ! What a rapid mortality among our gallant soldiers, in those destructive climates, where we should be under the necessity of frequently renewing and constantly increasing our garrisons, to awe an increasing native population, totally different from their conquerors in their laws, their manners, and, above all, in their language and their religion, and who have, from their infancy, imbibed the strongest prejudices against those whom they call Heretics !

The probable result of such a conquest would be, that England, weakened in its population, and of course in its agriculture and industry, and falling into a state of languor similar to that now exhibited by Spain, would dwindle into a feeble head of an overgrown empire ; and that

South

South America, like North America, would assert its independence as soon as it rose to opulence and strength by the exertions of British capital and industry.

North America, peopled by Englishmen, became independent in less than a century from the day when the first tree was cut down upon the spot where arose the proud city in which the act of independence was proclaimed.

Let us not forget that the Brazilians, actuated by national and superstitious antipathy, though the colony was still in its infancy, drove out of the country, after a bloody warfare, the Dutch, then in the very zenith of their power; and that they did it, not only without the assistance of Portugal, but against the peremptory command of King John IV., who enjoined them to acknowledge the States-General for their sovereign.

If you consider, my Lord, that we are now fighting for our independence, our very existence as a nation at home, you will be the more easily convinced

convinced of the folly of wasting our resources in wild schemes of conquest, which probably would be baffled, and which, should they succeed, would only be followed by the ruin of our constitution, and the decay of our strength, power, and consequence in Europe.

LETTER IV.

MY LORD,

Having, I flatter myself, convinced your Lordship in the preceding letters of the impolicy of England's countenancing the wretched enterprises of revolutionary adventurers, of the probable failure, the certain ruinous expenses and uncertain commercial advantages even of a successful plan of partial or general conquest ; it remains for me to show in what manner we can avail ourselves, in our present circumstances, and in the actual state of the world, of the resources of Spanish America. And this in my opinion cannot be accomplished but by giving independence to that country ; a gradual, systematic emancipation, which, if well conducted, might be done with as little difficulty, and less expence to the nation, than the capture of Buenos Ayres. However, as this cannot be done, as I shall presently show, in a manner beneficial to the British empire or South America,

America, without the assistance and direction of the former, and as her interference would require exertions on her part in men and money, it behoves me first to determine what interest she would have in the emancipation of Spanish America, and what advantages she would be likely to reap from it.

In spite of the sophistical reasonings and invectives, which the French writers and others in the pay of Bonaparte, are continually circulating all over Europe, against the covetousness, selfishness and ambition of Great Britain; in spite of the pains they take to represent her opulence and prosperity as acquired at the expence of other nations*; it is an undeniable truth, that the prosperity

* I think that our government shows too much contempt for that kind of petty warfare, of an inveterate foe, whose mind though continually bent on vast enterprises, never neglects any of the accessory means in his power to do as much mischief as he can. I grant that his arguments and abuse make very little impression on the enlightened part of the public; but every where the number of men of understanding who reason for themselves

perity and wealth of a commercial nation are founded upon, and therefore must increase with the civilization and prosperity of other countries. British industry, in producing many useful or desirable articles, stimulates the industry of other nations, to produce commodities fit to be given in exchange. The more industrious they are, the more power they have to buy, that is to exchange ; the more civilized they are, the more refined is their taste, and consequently the greater will be their exertions to procure the elegant or useful articles of British manufactures ; and such is the superiority of these, that if the trade of a country is left unshackled, one may be assured that its consumption of British goods will go to the full extent of its power of buying them.

It is obvious then, that the true interest of England is to encourage civilization, population

themselves is small ; the far greater part form their opinion from others, and our government in suffering the sophistry and invectives of the French writers to ver-run Europe, uncontradicted, have allowed Bonaparte to rouse no small degree of absurd jealousy against England.

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and industry in other nations, which her trade greatly tends to promote. From this observation we must however except the case of competition, when two nations have the same objects of industry, and try to undersell and supplant each other in foreign markets : but as no such competition can be apprehended from Spanish America, it is evident that a direct and free trade with her would greatly promote the prosperity of both countries.

To secure to Great Britain almost the whole of the trade of Spanish America, at least all the trade that she can carry on with advantage, no conquest, no forts, no garrison, no expences are necessary. Let only Spanish America be independent, let her shake off the restrictions laid upon her industry by the policy of Spain, let her trade take its natural course unshakled, and England is certain to engross the greatest part of it by the safest and the only profitable monopoly, that which is secured to her by the superiority of her capital and industry. As long as England can offer the best and cheapest and most desirable articles; as long as she can afford to sell them at a longer credit; as long as the wealth she acquires by her industry increases

increases her capacity of consuming the produce of other countries, and consequently her demand for them, she need not fear any competition, and the only thing she can possibly wish for, is that trade should be free all over the world.

Excuse me, my Lord, for dwelling so long on these preliminary observations, which will probably appear mere truisms to any man of common understanding who has ever bestowed a thought on this subject. My reason for doing it, is because I apprehend that the British people in general are not so well acquainted as they ought to be with the efficient cause, the true principle of their greatness and commercial prosperity, which being the mutual advantage and prosperity of other nations rests on a much better and safer foundation, and is likely to last longer, than it would if acquired by force and compulsion. Nations like individuals are liable to act against their true interest, either from ignorance or by yielding to the impulse of a momentary passion. This we do when actuated by ambition, or that overbearing and arrogant disposition which is so natural a consequence

consequence of power. We too often rouse ill-will and jealousy among other nations, by attempting to grasp by conquests or invidious regulations at some monopoly or some particular advantage, which in my opinion can never be put in comparison with those we are certain to derive from the nature of things, in a state of friendly disposition and freedom of trade. Like the dog in the fable, through greediness we lose the substance in grasping at the shadow.

If we are open to the reproach of overlooking our true interests so as to make people believe that we are ignorant of them, Bonaparte seems to be perfectly sensible, and never for a minute to lose sight of it. Perfectly aware that trade, and especially freedom of trade, is the source of our wealth, power, and political consequence, he attempts to check it wherever he can stretch his power, by harsh and apparently absurd interdictions, carried into execution with the rigour of the iron-hand of despotism. For such is his hatred against this country, such is his conviction that a trade founded on mutual advantage is the spring

of our prosperity, that in his rage to destroy it, he does not consider what mischief he does to his own people, if he can but effect our ruin, which in his heart he has sworn.

His avowed object is to shut against our shipping and trade, every river, port or harbour, which his power or influence can reach ; he already rules over all the shores of the ocean from the Gulf of Finland to the Straits of Gibraltar, Portugal excepted, and thence round almost the whole of the Mediterranean sea.

We have not yet witnessed half of the extraordinary events with which the present time is pregnant. It is very remarkable that in this almost general convulsion of Europe, when so many powerful states and kingdoms have been overthrown, three tottering thrones, Turkey, Spain, and Portugal, almost mouldering away of themselves, should have withstood the storm, and remained standing in the general wreck of Europe. This is perhaps owing to their very debility : as they are incapable of making any resistance, the

conqueror has disdained a sure and inglorious prey, in his eagerness to prostrate at his feet his more dangerous rivals. But the powerful once conquered, who can imagine that these defenceless, these almost lifeless states will long survive them ?

The doom of the once mighty empire of Turkey is fast approaching ; its European dominions is the prize to be contended for in the next campaign, and they will fall an easy prey to the conqueror, whoever he be, or will be dismembered by a partition treaty, to settle for a time the dispute among the contending powers, if their successes are balanced. Its fate seems to have been hastened by the ambition of Russia, lately awakened by Bonaparte's occupation of Dalmatia. Catharine II. opposed the French revolution from the beginning of it, by proclamations and manifestoes, like Bacchus, who kept crying *evoke* to the gods, who were defending the heavens against the invasion of the giants ; she roused and encouraged all the powers of Europe to take up arms against the common enemy, while she was conquering Poland ; she then postponed till a favourable op-

portunity her ambitious designs upon Turkey, keeping all the while an eye on the throne of Constantinople. At this very time Russia, though the concentration of her whole forces would perhaps be no more than what is necessary to repel the aggression of the French and defend Prussia, has marched a powerful army into Turkey, and kindled in that mouldering empire the flames of war, which will ultimately consume it.

Our situation since the beginning of the present contest has been remarkably awkward and embarrassing. Nobody will suppose that our government was so blind as not to perceive the ultimate views of Russia, and how materially the downfall of the Turkish empire in Europe would hurt our interest. Our interference between Russia and Turkey in their last quarrel sufficiently shows that the cabinet of St. James's was perfectly sensible of the consequences of Russian ambition ; but the far greater danger for Europe and ourselves from the overwhelming ambition of France obliged our ministers to forego minor interests, and to shut their eyes on more distant dangers

dangers. We maintained, and wisely in my opinion, a close and friendly connexion with Russia ; we used all our influence to bring her forward in the defence of Europe ; we allured her by subsidies, by winking at the partition of Poland, and her remote views on Turkey ; views which we are likely this year to assist her, indirectly at least, to accomplish ; and while we are certainly serving her so far as not to remonstrate and oppose them, though injurious to our interest, we have been these three years yielding to her intercession, if I am rightly informed, foregoing the legitimate rights of war, and spared our most vulnerable enemy from motives of deference to Russia which had interferred in its favour.

I am far from wishing to insinuate any blame against our ministers on that account ; situated as they were, in very novel and difficult circumstances, of the two evils, they have wisely chosen the least : but though in the present critical state of Europe it was out of their power to avert the impending fate of the Turkish empire, it is nevertheless true

that its overthrow by Russia is by no means a desirable event; and if cogent circumstances make it expedient to wink at it, and even to countenance the private purposes of Russia, when they will affect our interest so materially, I think it is highly adviseable to look to ourselves, 'to follow our own views, and to seek elsewhere a compensation for the advantages our trade is likely to lose in Europe.

If Bonaparte prevail, our fate will be still worse; the whole of Albania, Greece, the Archipelago, Candia, and probably Egypt, will be his share of the Turkish spoil, and we must expect to have the Ionian harbours shut against us, as well as all the shores from the Adriatic to the Baltic. In the present circumstances of Europe we have very little chance in my opinion of being able to oppose by war, much less by peace, any barrier to his unbounded ambition. Where it will stop God only knows! Austria, who by the treaty of Presburg, has been promised indemnities in *the East*, might be soon driven a little more eastward than she thinks of. That Bonaparte, if master of

Greece,

Greece, would attempt to overrun Asia, and overthrow our Indian empire cannot be doubted by any body who has the least knowledge of his rash and insatiable ambition : he aims at nothing short of outrivalling the conquests of Alexander ; and to wave the French eagles over the Ganges, is, from what I understand and readily believe, his constant thought by day, and his favourite dream by night.

I expect that many sober readers will laugh at my fears of what they will call extravagant schemes, and that some will treat me as a visionary : God grant that I may prove one ! but if I am mistaken now, you will at least acknowledge, my Lord, that it will be the first time that events have failed not only in justifying my apprehensions but in going far beyond them.

However, let us suppose that, in an hour of forbearance, Bonaparte should be pleased to call the Bosphorus, the natural limits of the French empire in the east, he certainly is too tender a parent to overlook the absolute re-union of *the great*

western family: no man in his senses can believe for a moment, that he will leave his dear western children exposed to the contamination of English trade, to the manifold evils resulting to them from being governed by old dynasties, and more especially by the Bourbon family. One may safely predict, that the downfall of the thrones of Spain and Portugal is only adjourned till next peace, and that it will be effected as an act of friendly solicitude for the welfare of the nation*.

If Spain and Portugal have been allowed to outlive their more efficient neighbours, and to protract a few years longer their wretched existence ; it is, I repeat it, because Bonaparte is convinced that they cannot escape him, and because the shortness of the last peace did not permit him to secure their transatlantic possessions, which the downfall of those monarchies in time of war, would evidently throw into the arms of England, unless we should forfeit them, by an

* This is not only a rational conjecture, but I understand that the design is openly avowed in a letter from an eminent personage now in France to a friend in London.

impolitic attempt to subject them by conquest to our laws ; and unless by our erroneous and short-sighted ambition we should mar the beneficial and infallible consequences of their independence.

If Bonaparte should consent to grant us under the name of Peace, a short and insecure truce, I am convinced that he would be principally actuated by the facility it would afford him to carry into effect his designs on the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Very likely, as in the case of Piedmont and Italy, between the preliminary and the definitive treaty, or, at the latest, immediately after it, we should hear of a treaty of cession, and of Vera Cruz, Laguira, and Rio Janeiro having received French garrisons : and in spite of our silly forbearance during this war, the world would be told, in a philanthropic manifesto, that the inoffensive emperor, has dominions enough not to wish to extend them any farther, but that our attempt on Buenos Ayres had shown the necessity, of granting the loyal inhabitants of Spanish America, a better protection, against British ambition ; and that the interest of the world, required this measure

sure of his benevolent imperial majesty, to prevent Great Britain from engrossing the whole of the tropical trade.

If the peace of Amiens had lasted one twelve-month longer, I have no doubt but those places would have been occupied by the army of St. Domingo. Every thing, I understand, had been prepared, to smooth the way to a French invasion, and to secure to Bonaparte or his dependents, the possession of those wealthy countries ; his ascendancy over the cabinet of Madrid had conquered their natural jealousy against admitting foreigners into their American dominions ; they had been overrun by French emissaries under the name of commercial agents with missions similar to that of Sebastiani.

One of those emissaries, Mr. Depons, has lately published an elaborate and circumstantial account of the provinces of Caraccas and Cumana, in which the object of his mission is obvious enough. You read it, my Lord, with considerable interest, and found in it a statistical account of the country,

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as complete as possible, except in the topography, an omission easily accounted for in a work intended for publication. But on this interesting part, I dare say Mr. Dupons was as minute in his report to his employer, as he was evidently reserved in that which was intended to meet the eye of the public.

Whatever was the object of his mission, and of his publication, his information certainly is drawn from the best sources ; such as nobody could have access to but an accredited agent, of very insinuating manners. What a lively interest does he take in the welfare of the country in his letter to the intendant ! If he were an accredited spy could he perform his part better ? What a godly man is he in his correspondence with the bishop ! could a new convert to theophilanthropism, or the worship of reason, speak more smoothly ? Half of the work is taken up in treating of the cultivation of sugar, coffee, &c. and other details, which you can find in a hundred other books, and in pointing out the improvements they are capable

of in the Caraccas. What an honest and benevolent object ! I wonder the inhabitants have not instituted a board of tropical agriculture, and appointed him president.

Notwithstanding the plausible pretences he makes for his stay at Caraccas, and the object of his publication, when you read that part of his book where he strives to show that to effect a popular revolution would be as difficult as dangerous, and at the same time broadly enough insinuates how easy it would be to accomplish one on opposite principles, you conjectured (and rightly in my opinion) that the author's mission was to prepare the way for such a revolution ; the more he seems to consider it as impossible, the more he shows the facility of it, and it can scarcely be doubted, but that such a scheme was in the contemplation of his master.

If the sudden and unexpected rupture of the peace of Amiens, prevented Bonaparte from carrying into execution his ambitious designs on
Spanish

Spanish America, you may depend upon it, my Lord, that he has not abandoned but only postponed them till the next peace.

But even let us suppose that he has not the most distant thought of the kind ; did he not during the last peace, and would he not during the next, appropriate to his own purposes and of course to the destruction of England, the resources of Spanish America, almost as completely by his influence over the court of Spain, as he could by the actual possession of them ?

Spain, though retaining a nominal independence is so completely under the controul of France, that it may be considered as an integral part of Bonaparte's empire. Whatever is taken from Spain, is virtually an abridgement of the power and resources of France. Before Spain was engaged in the war, did not all the treasure of America literally go direct, into Bonaparte's exchequer, and form part, of what he was pleased to call modestly in his budget, *extraordinary resources*, though he was certainly intitled to consider them as ordinary and permanent ones ? If it

it has been wise to declare war against inoffensive Spain, in order *temporarily to deprive* our enemy of that part of his ways and means ; how much wiser would it be to deprive him for ever of the resources he draws from Spanish America, to defeat at once the mischievous schemes of his malice, against our trade, and to turn to our advantage those very means intended and hitherto applied for our destruction ? Such would be the result of emancipating Spanish America. It would immediately open to British trade and industry an extensive new market, more than equivalent to the loss of those which competition or compulsion can deprive us of in Europe ; a market that would rapidly increase with the population and prosperity of those fertile regions, now cramped by the narrow and jealous policy of Spain, but the capacities of which would soon be called into action, by a free trade, and a mild and national government.

The extent to which our industry, prosperity, and their natural consequences, population and power could be gradually increased by the emancipation of Spanish America is beyond all calculation.

lation. That country is so extensive, so thinly peopled, so fertile, that, even allowing the population to double every twenty five years, as in North America, the demand for agricultural labour will be for centuries so much above the supply, that the Spanish Americans cannot become a manufacturing nation, nor attempt to rival us in any kind of industry for ages to come; therefore, as long as no European nation can undersell or surpass us, we must continue to supply them with almost every article of manufacture, &c.

It is obvious that America, even in its present low state of population, will afford us a much better market, with less apprehension of rivalry, than three or four times the same number of people in Europe. The capacity of one country to trade with another is not to be estimated by numbers or absolute wealth, but by the relative wealth of its inhabitants. If the people of the two countries enjoy the same climate, have the same dress, the same manner of living, they will produce nearly the same commodities, and attempt the same kind of manufactures, to supply their

their wants or fancies ; except the occasional casualties of scarcity in one country, and exuberance in the other, they will have few exchangeable commodities, and these will probably consist in some articles of refinement in which the one may excel the other. Therefore, though both countries may be populous and fertile, and the people of both industrious and wealthy, no very considerable traffic can exist between them, and the consumers of each others produce will be in a very small proportion to the number of inhabitants.

It has been lately asserted by a very judicious writer, one likely to be well informed of every thing concerning the United States of America, where he has resided several years, that, upon an average, every inhabitant of North America consumes yearly five pounds worth of British manufacture; which I readily believe, because I know that they are not, and cannot be for a long time to come, a manufacturing nation, but must depend upon other commodities which it suits us to take in exchange. There is certainly no European nation whose

trade

trade with us can bear any comparison with that of America, in proportion to its inhabitants. Ten millions of Spanish Americans would be so many consumers of almost every article which our industry could manufacture; whereas I question whether the whole of Europe (the British islands excepted) contains ten millions of people who consume our goods, and the consumption of each of them consists only in a few peculiar objects, and those in small quantity. The produce of the soil in other European countries being nearly the same as ours, and the industry of their inhabitants directed to the same manufactures, we mutually have few exchangeable commodities; but the produce of the soil and industry of America consists almost entirely of commodities different from, and of course exchangeable for, ours. Cloth, fustian, hardware, and a thousand other articles, the produce of our industry, and objects of necessary consumption to every individual in Spanish America, can be bartered against gold, silver, bark, cochineal, cotton, all the produce of their soil, and the most useful and necessary articles of our consumption. The consequence in

each country would be a respective constant demand for the surplus produce of the other, above its own wants, which, if not exchanged, would be useless and of no value, and a constant capacity to procure it by the exchangeable surplus of its own produce, which would insure a beneficial and extensive trade. Beneficial, as it would consist in mutually exchanging what is useless to the one for the necessary or useful surplus of the other; extensive, because though Americans are not absolutely richer than Frenchmen or Germans, they are so relatively to us, the whole of our respective surpluses being mutually exchangeable. As wealth certainly consists in the ability of procuring the objects of our wants or fancy produced by the labour of others, it is evident that a given number of Americans would give more employment to British labour, and be better able to pay for it, than the same number of Europeans, and *vice versa*, British subjects would want more of the produce, and be better able to pay for American than European labour. A free intercourse, therefore, will be highly beneficial to both, and tend to increase their respective wealth.

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The opening of a fresh, most beneficial, extensive, and progressively increasing channel to our trade, now so much cramped, and so likely to be every day exposed to farther restrictions and impediments in Europe, is certainly a weighty consideration, my Lord, and of sufficient force, in my opinion, to determine Great Britain to attempt the emancipation of Spanish America.

If successful, we find in that measure the means not only to support but to increase that power, influence, and political preponderance we owe to our wealth, prosperity, and navy, which are themselves the offspring of our trade. We set at defiance the schemes of our enemy, as we get an ample compensation for any source of prosperity of which he can deprive us in Europe; we check, as far as it is in our power, the rapid strides of his ambition; we prevent him from securing for ever to himself or his dependents those rich countries, and from carrying the limits of the western empire to the western shores of the New World, which he certainly has in contemplation. At any rate, we presently throw on our side of the balance

the weight of countries now on the side of the enemy, and we avail ourselves, for the maintenance of our dignity, power, and preponderance, of the resources of extensive territories now at his disposal, and applied in carrying on war against us.

The policy of the emancipation of Spanish America is not less obvious if we consider our situation with respect to the United States.

The increase of population in Jamaica and our other tropical colonies, makes them every day more dependent on the American states for many articles of absolute necessity, of which the mother country can afford them but a precarious supply, and even that at a ruinous price. Experience has shown that our sugar islands would be exposed to ruin and starvation if they were for a few months deprived of their intercourse with North America. Government are so well convinced of it, that they have been induced to relax our navigation laws by an act of last session, and to soothe those restless and ambitious competitors, instead of resenting their

their repeated insults and encroachments, and their partiality to our enemy. What would be the fate of our sugar islands if, during an European war, the intrigues of France, repeated insults, or any other impending causes should bring on a rupture between Great Britain and the United States? By their recent acquisition of Louisiana they almost encompass our colonies, they already covet the treasures of Mexico, and cannot fail to unite very soon that extensive and wealthy country to their federal empire, if not prevented by the timely interference of Great Britain. Strange rumours have been afloat of late respecting the schemes of Colonel Burr and some other enterprising persons of America, and I shall be very much surprised if we do not soon hear of internal commotions in Mexico, of some plan of confederation between that part of the Spanish main and the western parts of the United States. Intriguers and emissaries have been at work for some years, and the jealousy shown by the Court of Madrid at the cession of Louisiana, sufficiently proves that it was not ignorant of the plans of those ambitious and turbulent republicans.

If we suffer such a revolution to take place under American influence, we shall hold our sugar islands by a frail tenure indeed; every day we must feel more and more the policy of establishing a political balance in America as well as in Europe; nor can that object be better accomplished than by the emancipation of Spanish America, especially of that part which borders on the Gulf of Mexico, and by establishing there, under British influence, such forms of government as would best suit the nature of the country and the interest of Great Britain.

It would relieve our colonies from their present dependence on the United States for food and many other necessaries, and Great Britain from that system of forbearance she has been obliged to act upon for some years past. It would put us at once in a situation to resent the injuries and to repel the encroachments of those ambitious republicans upon our trade and maritime laws. The inhabitants of the Mexican Gulf would, at a much cheaper rate than North America, supply Jamaica with rice, flour, wood, cattle, salt-provisions,

sions, &c. and take in return British manufactures. That important colony would of course be weaned by degrees from her present too close connexion with the United States, and becoming an emporium of the trade between the ancient and the new world, would find in the increase of its prosperity, fresh motives of attachment to the parent state.

If I have expatiated too much on these primary considerations, their importance will, I hope, be a sufficient apology to your Lordship.

There are besides many secondary and minor ones which I could adduce in support of my arguments, but I shall content myself with pointing out some of them.

The grandeur of the attempt, almost one-fourth part of the globe raised to independence by the influence and under the protection of Great Britain, would shed a great lustre on the British councils and power; it would greatly contribute to keep up that fame upon which national con-

sideration so much depends ; it would change a languid defensive into a glorious offensive war, and teach a proud enemy that he has something to fear, something to lose.

If by dividing the spoils of Europe among his minions, his generals, his dependants, Buonaparte's obvious policy is to assume the mask of moderation, to appear to conquer only to bestow ; and while he retains in fact the supremacy of real power over the conquered countries by the means of his prefects and lieutenants, called dukes and kings, to have a plausible pretence in their alledged independence to retain at a peace all the conquests made during the war with their assistance, we should, by the independence of America, retort upon him his own policy, but upon different and more generous principles ; we should make ourselves new friends and firm allies of new nations, raised to independence under our protection, and inflict on our enemy a severe wound by snatching from his present control, and from his future occupation, territories which at a general peace it would be as much out of our power to restore

restore to their former states, as it will be out of Buonaparte's inclination to restore Europe to the situation it was in before, or even after, the peace of Amiens, and out of our power to compel him to do it.

I must, for the sake of brevity, overlook many other minor considerations, and close this already too long letter by an assertion decisive of the policy of the measure I recommend; which assertion will not I am sure, be contradicted by any person in the least acquainted with Spanish America.

The population and wealth of the country increased of late years, in proportion to the decay of the parent state, the weakness of which is such that it is equally unable to afford protection and to enforce obedience; the frequent interruption of trade, even of communication with the mother country during the late wars; the relaxation of the prohibitory laws in consequence of it; the progress of the spirit of independence among the natives, which is the natural result of that relaxation

tion and of the increase of wealth; local and foreign circumstances; in short, the very nature of things calls my countrymen to independence so loud that they cannot remain much longer deaf to its voice. Spanish America is so ripe for emancipation, that should England, blind to the dictates of a sound policy, neglect to take the leading part in this impending revolution, and to direct it to her own views, it will happen of itself, in a few years, without her concurrence, and turn to the profit of Buonaparte, of the United States, or perhaps be attended by anarchy, the surest means of blasting the fine prospect of this inevitable event.

LETTER V.

• My Lord,

Though I hope that I have sufficiently proved in my last letter the beneficial consequences likely to result to Great Britain from the emancipation of Spanish America, if directed by her, I beg you will keep in view that the true state of the question, is not respecting the policy of the measure absolutely speaking; whether we ought or ought not to undertake it, but whether it be wise to take the direction of an impending and necessary revolution, which certainly will soon take place of itself, and may be fatal to Great Britain, in throwing that country into confusion or into the arms of our rivals or enemy, if not directed by us towards our interest.

Being convinced of the truth of my position, I shall now submit to your Lordship the outlines of the plan, which in my opinion ought to be adopted,

adopted, to avoid the dangers and secure the advantages of that measure; in short to accomplish an emancipation equally salutary and advantageous to Great Britain and Spanish America.

It certainly has not escaped your Lordship's attention, that while I strongly urge the policy, nay the necessity of a general emancipation, I have carefully qualified it by saying: that in order to be beneficial, it must be systematical and skilfully conducted. There are many dangers which would ruin the whole scheme, and which are to be carefully averted.

An emancipation is a kind of revolution; and when we recollect the dreadful scenes we have witnessed in both worlds for half a century, who does not shudder at the very word revolution? The passage from subjection to independence is a crisis in a political body affected by a disease, which may either bring on death or restore it to health and vigour: to accelerate that crisis therefore requires some precautions and a skilful hand.

I think

I think, my Lord, that the question may be fairly stated in the shape of a problem, thus :

What are the best means to accomplish the emancipation of Spanish America, without exposing her to the dangers of anarchy and revolution ? •

To which my answer is this : England must rouse and call forth the latent energies of that country without putting the mass of the people into a state of ferment. She must be the instigator and moderator at the same time of a kind of revolution which, without affecting the relative ranks and situations of individuals shall cut asunder the ties that bind Spanish America to Spain, and place her in a state of nominal independence, sufficient to prevent the possibility of France or Spain ever regaining their power or influence over that country ; and which, without placing it under the avowed subjection of England, shall nevertheless secure her in the inhabitants useful and necessary allies, as much by their real dependence, arising from the necessity of protection,

and

and trade, as Portugal has been for centuries, or as the new-made kings of Bonaparte are under the controul of his power. If you recollect, my Lord, what I have stated in my first and second letters, of the various conditions, customs, and manners of the inhabitants and of the obvious danger of a protracted commotion in a political body composed of such jarring elements, you will allow that a change in the government ought to be as little, and the passage from the old to the new order of things as quick as possible.

As the present government is monarchical, as the notions and customs of the people have been formed, and their conditions regulated accordingly, the new government must be monarchical, with this difference alone if possible, that the king be at Lima or Mexico, instead of at Madrid. The existing institutions must remain untouched, the key stone of the vault alone must be removed and replaced with quickness and dexterity ; else the social fabrick tumbling into confusion, will crush prosperity and even civilization under its ruins.

A monarchical government, will not only facilitate and accelerate any scheme for the independence of Spanish America, as being more congenial to the habits of the people ; but by leaving every body, one excepted, in their present situation, will greatly contribute to ward off the dangers of the commotions, which a popular government would be exposed to ; it will, besides, have the advantage of giving a better counterpoise to the republican interest prevalent in North America, and by precluding the possibility of the present and future association and federation, it will settle a political balance in the New World, the necessity of which becomes more urgent every day.

If you ask me, my Lord, how this is to be accomplished, I answer : by exciting hope and fear with address and policy, and by skilfully working upon the passions and the feelings of mankind with the two powerful engines by which success is generally obtained in every great human undertaking, I mean persuasion and compulsion.

By persuasion we must obtain the concurrence,
at

at any rate the acquiescence of many ; while an overawing force must be at hand to crush any opposition that persuasion cannot remove.

By these moral and physical means, skilfully blended, we should secure as much as it is in human power to do, not only the success of the enterprise, but that promptitude of success, which is a necessary condition to render it beneficial.

I would therefore recommend above all, to try to obtain by all possible means, the concurrence and assistance of the clergy, the nobility, the landlords, the merchants, in short of the aristocracy of the country, and to come forward with a scheme adapted to their passions and prejudices and likely to flatter national and individual pride ; and as for the mass of the people, they would be gained by a fair prospect of bettering their present condition

From my personal knowledge of public opinion, and of the actual bent of the popular feelings in Spanish America, I can assure your Lordship, that
nothing

nothing could so well answer the purpose of securing the favour, and even the almost universal concurrence of the people, as the allurement of independence, and the consequent prospect of places, power, consideration, and free trade under a national and monarchical government.

I need not observe, what common sense sufficiently points out, that the individual whom England should bring forward and support as the head of the new government, must not be an adventurer struggling to emerge from the dregs of society, but that he must be selected from that high rank, which of itself commands respect and obedience, smothers the leaven of ambition, so apt to be fermented by the heat of personal competition, in times of commotion ; and that he must be one to whom pride itself will resign its pretensions, and submit with pleasure, from a consciousness that it can be done without disgrace.

Permit me here, my Lord, to state briefly the outlines of the plan upon which I believe Great Britain ought to act, and which in my opinion

would almost insure success, and be most beneficial to both countries.

Mexico and Terra Firma, from their centrical situation, short distance from Europe, and greater ability, on account of the state of their population and wealth, to support a national government and to maintain a close and beneficial connexion with England, are the parts of Spanish America where the first trial ought to be made.

The first step should be to select a young and enterprising prince out of some of the sovereign families of Europe, the most likely to be acceptable as a king to the inhabitants, and from his connexions to be well inclined to Great Britain, and hostile to Bonaparte.

England should enter into a previous treaty with him, and both parties should bind themselves by some stipulations ; England to assist him with a competent naval, and military force, and in return for such assistance to require that a fourth part of the public money existing at the moment
of

of the conquest should be appropriated as prize-money to the naval and military forces composing the expedition ; the rest to be left at the disposal of the prince to defray the expences of the new government and to reimburse England, by instalments with interest, all the expences attending the expedition ; and for the better security of the fulfilment of the stipulations entered into, Great Britain should keep a garrison of British troops in one or more principal ports of the country, at the expence of the new government. She should besides make such other stipulations as would secure every possible advantage to the British trade.

As real and profitable economy in great enterprises consists in prompt and decisive success, the auxiliary army should be extremely well appointed, and of that imposing magnitude, which by striking terror into the bosoms of those who might be prompted by duty or inclination to defend the established government, would immediately overawe the spirit of resistance, from the conviction that an effectual one could not be made ; and which at the same time would secure the assistance and exertions of the disaffected, the indif-

ferent, and the undecided, by holding out to them a sufficient protection, and such a probability of success as might excite every aspiring man to come forward, and secure the protection and favour of the new government.

The expedition ought to carry a great quantity of arms to be distributed among such of the natives, as should join the prince's standard, and also officers to drill and discipline them into a national militia.

On his landing on the shores of Spanish America, the prince should issue a proclamation, stating that he was not come to conquer, but to deliver the country, and to restore independence, under a national government framed by and for the people, and to be no longer conducted for the benefit of a distant nation : he should promise to keep inviolate the immunities of the clergy, the civil laws, religion, &c. ; and to protect property, and the liberty of trade. With such incitements, aided by the allurement of honors and places, I have no doubt, my Lord, but that almost the whole people would immediately shake off the King of Spain's allegiance

allegiance, to acknowledge the new sovereign, and that the emancipation of an extensive empire would be achieved as *a coup de main*: so easy would be the success, if the enterprise were well conducted, that it would scarcely deserve the epithet of great, but from its consequences.

Who the prince is that would be most likely to please the people of the country, and to conciliate their affection should be maturely considered; the choice is an object of great delicacy and importance, as from selecting a proper person would in a great measure depend the facility of success, and the happiness of millions of human beings.

I am conscious that it may be deemed presumptuous and indiscreet in a private person to give an opinion on such a delicate subject; if you think so, my Lord, you will be pleased to expunge, what I am about to write with diffidence, and in consequence of your Lordship's commands to state with exactness on paper, the substance of our conversations.

I think that the crown of Mexico would be a

fair object of ambition to some of the royal dukes. Their bravery, their military knowledge, the gracefulness of their persons, their affability, would in my opinion strongly recommend them, and conciliate the love of their new subjects. The only objection against them (but I apprehend an insuperable one) is their being born and educated protestants. I think that to a monarch so circumstanced the bigoted people of Spanish America could never be reconciled; and that a zealous and all powerful clergy would not see a sufficient security for their wealth and influence under the government of a protestant prince, even if they were not swayed by religious motives.

Whether Mexico be, as Paris, worth going to inass for; whether a conqueror be allowed to be a musulman in Egypt, a devout papist at Roine, a theophilanthropist at Paris, is a question far above my competency to determine; I shall therefore leave it to abler casuists in politics and divinity than myself.

But if our noble princes should prefer (as I think they would) standing by their king and

and country in these critical times ; if they should prefer enjoying the honours of their high station, to the ambition of seeking in distant and unwholesome climes a regal title, by reigning over a scarcely half civilized nation ; I should not hesitate to recommend it to some of the younger branches of the house of Bourbon.

If for many years, the great, though unsuccessful efforts of England to re-establish that family on the throne of their ancestors have been thought a wise and generous policy ; if it is adviseable at the present moment to fight for the purpose of procuring an indemnity for the King of Sardinia, would it not be wise and sound policy to bestow an indemnity on the illustrious and unfortunate house of Bourbon, at the expence of the enslaved branch of their family, or rather at the expence of the usurper of their patrimony, of the common enemy of them as well as of Great Britain ?

Such a choice would in my opinion more than any, tend to conciliate the favour of the people

of the country, and of course to insure the success of the scheme. The Bourbons have a colourable right to rescue from the grasp of the usurper, part of the patrimony of their ancestors. I have no doubt that many an able civilian, would in the treaties of Europe before or after that of Utrecht find specious arguments and titles on which to ground their claim to these countries, as good as any that are to be found in the generality of manifestoes.

Long habit of obedience and reverence to the present dynasty, and the many wise regulations which have improved the condition of Spanish America since the accession of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain, have endeared their name to the people. Their religion would render them very acceptable; and from the fallen state of their fortunes one may naturally expect of them, that noble ardour to retrieve it, which renders men fit for great enterprises. Leaving behind neither fortune, nor family, and scarcely possessing in Europe the common comforts of life, they would probably encounter with eagerness all the toils and dangers

dangers attending such an expedition, and be actuated by that spirit of boldness, so often decisive of success. They would besides be the more welcome in America for belonging to no country, as they would bring thither no great retinue.

Such, or similar, were, I understand, the ideas and the plan of the late illustrious minister, the loss of whom England will long bewail. When your Lordship at his desire submitted to him in a short memorial the substance of my ideas on this subject, you were so kind as to tell me a few days after, that they had met with his entire approbation.

After mature consideration he had satisfied himself that the true interests of England and Spanish America were the same ; that plundering expeditions, very expensive to government, were attended, when successful, with no other advantage, than the booty of the captors ; that partial or extensive conquests, were still more expensive, more difficult to accomplish, and almost impossible

sible to be retained, that their infallible consequence would be to weaken England, by a constant drain of the public money and of the flower of the population, while they served as fair topics to the invectives of the enemy against our selfish policy, and roused the jealousy of the continental powers, whom it was his earnest wish to reconcile to his ultimate views for the liberation of Europe ;—that Spanish America though able to support a national government was unable to defray the necessary expences attending the government of a distant foreign conqueror, especially of an English one, and therefore must be a dead weight on Great Britain. However, he clearly saw that something must be done, that from the internal situation of the country, and the dispositions of its inhabitants, Spanish America was on the eve of a natural revolution, which, if not directed by and in favour of England, would be fatal to her interests, because it must in that case either be directed by and for Bonaparte, or the United States, or must plunge that country in a state of convulsion and anarchy destructive of civilization.

You well know, my Lord, that deeply impressed with the idea that the prosperity and power of England are founded upon, and therefore must increase with, the civilization and prosperity of other countries, that truly great man had positively determined to attempt the noble and generous, as well as political, enterprise of a gradual and systematical emancipation of Spanish America, by assisting the natives in erecting a national government and independent monarchy under the protection of Great Britain. He was convinced that this measure was the only one that could be attended with great and permanent consequences, really beneficial to both countries ; that mutual wants, necessity of protection, and British capital and industry, would secure to Great Britain all the possible advantages of trade by the gradually increasing resources of exchange of the rich produce of Spanish America for British and Indian manufactures ; and, in short, that emancipation would answer as well, if not much better, every political or beneficial purpose, than any plan of conquest and coercion, without the dangers and

national

national expenses attending it ; that while Buonaparte's policy was to conquer in order to plunder and to enslave, Great Britain's policy ought to be to give liberty, independence, and free trade wherever she could extend her influence, and to turn this memorable contest into the struggle of general independence against universal oppression and slavery ; that it was as wise as liberal to bestow what we could not conveniently or safely keep for ourselves, and to imitate so far Buonaparte's policy in making conquests of which the retention would be so much out of our power, that it could not even be the subject of a negotiation, and to create new allies, over whom our influence would be secured by our liberal and generous conduct, our superior industry, and the necessity of our protection.

In fact, who does not see, my Lord, that the new sovereign of America, be he whom he may, and leaving out of the question all bonds of gratitude, must be, for his own interest, and from necessity, the faithful ally of Great Britain, and much

more

more dependent upon her than Portugal has been for centuries. Under the protection of the British navy he has nothing, and without it every thing to fear from the resentment of Spain and the ambition of France. Where would his subjects find another market out of England to exchange their commodities for the objects of their wants? where else would they find capitalists always ready to buy wholesale, and to retail the produce of their country to the world?

The population of Mexico, under a national and wise government, would probably increase very fast, and that kingdom might in course of time become a military power, and so far a useful ally to Great Britain in checking the unbounded ambition of the United States. But its extensive coasts being absolutely destitute of good harbours, and even of safe roads, it could never become a maritime power, nor of course an object of jealousy to England. In case of war, a simple order of the King would immediately seclude it from the civilized world, stop its trade entirely, and plunge it

it in a few months, from a state of opulence, into wretchedness and misery. But such a case cannot even be supposed ; in fact, the ordinary causes of quarrels and wars among nations could not possibly arise; the richer and more populous, the more dependent on England would Mexico be for the supply of its wants. The prosperity of both countries would be inseparable : their political as well as commercial interest would cement every day more and more, and their natural union would perpetuate the dependence of Mexico on the power of Great Britain.

In emancipating Spanish America, Britain would achieve the most glorious and important conquest over her inveterate foe, by means dear to humanity, without the least expense of blood or treasure, and would secure its allegiance by means infinitely safer than forts and garrisons, by the everlasting bonds of mutual attachment and interest, by the superiority of her civilization and industry, by the necessity of her protection. She would be amply repaid for her generous exertions,

in fame, glory, consequence, increase of wealth and power: and the treasures of America, instead of passing through Spain into the coffers of Buonaparte, would in future come directly into the Bank of England, and perhaps would one day serve to rescue the world from his ambition and tyranny.

THE END.

POLITICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

SPANISH COLONIES, &c.

POLITICAL,
COMMERCIAL, AND STATISTICAL
SKETCHES
OF THE
SPANISH EMPIRE
In both Indies;
REFLECTIONS ON THE POLICY PROPER FOR
GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE PRESENT CRISIS;
AND
A VIEW OF THE POLITICAL QUESTION
BETWEEN
SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES
RESPECTING
LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS,
WITH
THE CLAIMS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AS FOUNDED ON TREATY
TO THE COMMERCIAL NAVIGATION
OF THE
RIVER MISSISSIPI,
&c. &c. &c.

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POLITICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

SPANISH COLONIES, &c.

In retracing the events recorded in the histories of past ages, we find no period of equal duration with the last twenty years, that has produced so many and such varied changes in the moral, as well as political situation of the majority of the inhabitants of the globe. It is true that the revolutions of a single state may be adduced as a fair parallel to those of any one modern kingdom; but it is evident that even the instantaneous subversion of the power of imperial Rome herself, when in the plenitude of her dominion, could not have extended its consequences to so many different nations as the French Revolution has done; for even at its commencement, the electric shock was felt in both hemispheres, though with different effects, the sooty native of Congo or Benin

in the one, being stimulated to rapine and murder in the sacred name of liberty, whilst in the other, the peaceful and almost incurious Hindoo stood calmly looking on, a quiet spectator of the absurd attempt to form a "National Assembly" in the paltry settlement of Mahé, on the coast of Malabar,—paltry, as taking place on a territory of half a dozen square miles, and absurd in its constitution, as every house-holder became a member of the "Supreme Legislature." There indeed the first energies of the sovereign people were satisfied with confining the governor in the *Chokey*, or dungeon of the fort, as a proof of liberty, and with singing *La Carmagnol*, as a proof of patriotism;—not so, unfortunately, in the sister settlement of the *Mauritius*, where the atrocious and unmanly murder of the gallant and loyal Macnamara, then captain of *La Thetis*, will for ever leave an indelible stain on the character of the colonists. Yet, great as these changes have been, both in their number, and in their extent, it is probable that the events of the present day, and of the next twelve months, may leave others which will more strongly mark the destiny of future ages, particularly in the western world.

The general interest and anxiety for the ultimate success of our gallant allies in Spain, seem to have engaged the attention of the public so much, as to have prevented them from turning

their thoughts towards the consequences likely to ensue to the Spanish Colonies, in the event of the final triumph of Spain, or of her being obliged to crouch beneath the iron arm of the merciless invader. In either case, the consequences must be of great importance to England as a trading nation, and the line both of commercial and of state policy, necessary for her to pursue, deserves to be accurately drawn, and well defined.

That the ministry have already taken the matter into serious consideration, is evident from Lord Castlereagh's speech in the House of Commons, on the motion for augmenting our disposable force, where he says, "If no field of action presented itself in Europe, British interests might yet call our troops for the defence of another part of the world," alluding evidently to Spanish America, where the crafty usurper has already contrived to acquire a considerable influence.

But it is not to the breasts of the ministry alone such contemplations ought to be confined; it is the duty of every Englishman, as well as his inestimable privilege, to acquire a correct judgment on all important events that affect the interests of his country, and it is with this view that the writer of the present sheets has endeavoured to sketch a faithful statement of the question, great part of which is drawn from his own active observations in the course of the last

twenty years, in the four quarters of the globe, confirmed by the most modern and recent accounts of the best writers on the various subjects which will here present themselves for discussion; and the question may well be considered, as of momentous importance, when we recollect the boast of the old Spanish monarchy, "That the sun never set upon their dominions."

It has been observed with genuine philosophical accuracy, by Mr. Chalmers in his Estimate, "That we may probably find, that although we are advanced by wide steps during the last century in the science of politics, we have still much to learn; but that the summit can only be gained, by substituting accurate research for delusive speculation, and by rejecting zeal of paradox, for moderation of opinion." Bowing to the truth of this position, we cannot but lament, that a truth so obvious should have so little weight with the whole herd of political economists and *soi disant philosophists* of the present day, who have been prejudicing the public with the crude theories of their closets, and with vague definitions of *real* and *imaginary* wealth, without reflecting that *every thing is wealth*, which mankind consider as such, and which stimulates them to industry; and that its *representative* must be considered as wealth also, whether it is the leather money of the ancients, the cowrie of the Indian, the tenpenny nail of the Otaheitean, the

guinea of the miser, or the bank note of modern circulation.

It has too long been the fashion to look at the gloomy side of the question, without reflecting that sinister events in human life, are often but as clouds passing over a summer sun ; but surely it is the duty both of the Christian and the philosopher to contemplate the good, whilst his eyes are open also to the evil ; and indeed it is not to be doubted that every man of observation, and of candour, will confess that in the material and also in the moral world, the sum total of evil is greatly counterbalanced by the corresponding good.

In this point of view, however, we may lament the passing sorrows of the ill-fated peninsula, yet we are not to tremble at the consequences of the tyrant's success, at least as far as regards ourselves ; for even the total subjugation of Spain will not place England in a worse situation than she was before this nefarious usurpation, and may indeed itself be productive of much positive good to the Spanish American Colonies. Not that such an event is to be wished for, in order to procure these speculative benefits ; yet still a calm consideration of each point of the question is deserving present attention.

There seems great reason to believe that the *family ambition* of Bonaparte, and perhaps his *apprehensive hatred* of the almost last reigning

branch of the Bourbons, has in some measure overcome his wonted policy, in this 1st-attack on Spanish independence. Whilst the old family sat upon the throne of Spain, that kingdom was little more than a province to France, and her king nothing more than his viceroy; her European resources were at his command, her ports were shut to English produce, in conformity to his new system of decontinentalization, and the wealth of her colonies, as often as it could be brought home, by eluding the vigilance of the "Tyrants of the Seas," was destined to fill his coffers, and thus enable him to pursue his well-known system of bribery and corruption at foreign courts, and to gratify all the luxurious longings of upstart pride at his own.

But now the case is widely different, a spark of genuine liberty has kindled a flame of resistance, which may yet spread farther, and endanger his power and influence over surrounding subjugated nations. Should Spain yet succeed in driving his rapacious herd of plunderers from her plains and from her cities, his sun will then pass his meridian, and may perhaps soon set for ever.—Should he succeed in placing his brother on the throne of Spain and the Indies, what then will he have acquired?—what indeed, but the possession of Spain which he virtually possessed before—a country deluged with the blood of its best citizens, and with its remaining population

bitterly cursing the *blessings* of French fraternity. But of her colonies!—it is to be hoped that the policy and the protection of Britain, will for ever cut him off from all future participation in their resources.

We thus see *all* he will have gained; but what will Britain have lost?—nothing that she possessed before his usurpation, for Spain was then her enemy *de facto*, though not perhaps *de animo*, whilst his means of hurting her will be much less, if *proper attention* is paid to the Spanish ports, and to the ships of war which are now in them.

This part of the subject we shall however leave for future discussion, when we come to investigate the policy which Britain ought to pursue in the present crisis; and to be enabled to judge fairly of the general question, it will be proper to take a slight political and commercial sketch of the several dependencies of Spain, of their several capabilities, of the power and disposition of their inhabitants, of their resources, of their wants, and of the advantages which will result from an unrestrained commerce, with respect both to England and themselves.

Should Spain preserve her independence, and consequently her influence over her own colonies, we may reasonably hope that gratitude, as well as the self-evident maxims of liberal policy, will prompt her to open an extensive commercial in-

tercourse, not only between her colonies and England, but also between the dependencies of each nation, the latter of which we shall endeavour to shew will be of mutual advantage to all parties. Should she unfortunately fall, the protection of England, which we will also endeavour to shew is absolutely necessary to colonial welfare, even though no closer connection should ensue, will of itself produce a great and extensive intercourse ; new wants will arise, as wealth becomes more generally disseminated, and they will act and re-act upon each other mutually : but we shall not go farther at present into this part of the question, but merely premise that our succeeding observations will be formed on the most extended scale of probable intercourse, so as to embrace the *most extended view* of the subject, leaving each reader to reduce it according to the scale of his own opinion. If there are any who shall honour this short analysis with a perusal, are of opinion that the colonies will be disposed to follow the fate of the mother country, we shall also notice that point hereafter, though we must confess, even in this stage of the question, that it is more likely the colonies should throw off their dependence on Spain triumphant, than tamely yoke themselves to her fortune in a subjugated state.

Whatever may be the future connection between Great Britain and Spanish America, it is

from commerce that the greatest benefits must be derived; yet, in any possible state of the case, we are not to expect any very rapid benefits in the first stages of our commercial intercourse: besides, in this enlightened day, when we are accustomed to look beyond the mere passing event, we may conclude with an ingenious writer, "That it is not the immediate profit arising from a favourite branch of commerce that is to be considered, especially in a national point of view, but the probable and future consequences attending it."

It might have been considered, a few years ago, as a work of supererogation, to have said any thing in defence of commerce, generally; yet, as it has been so much the fashion to decry it of late, it may not be amiss here to recall public attention to its various advantages. It would indeed be far beyond our proposed limits even briefly to notice the first rise and the consequent progress of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom, together with the corresponding increase of national revenue; yet we may venture to premise, without danger of contradiction, that in proportion as these have increased from the reign of Elizabeth to the present time, so has our naval power been extended, on which alone we are dependent for that opulence and influence with which we have

astonished the world, in opposition to the most vigorous exertions of our inveterate enemy.

This truth is more fully proved by the passing events; for, notwithstanding our own internal resources, which now appear greater than statistical writers have ever ventured to assert, it must still be allowed that England derives considerable benefit even from the present circumscribed state of her intercourse with the continent. Here, indeed, it must afford sincere gratulation to every patriotic bosom, to see, even now, in spite of all the decrees and regulations of France, that our commerce still supplies the exigencies of war, still aids that unbroken spirit which Britain displays in her gallant and steady resistance to a world combined both in arts and arms against her existence.

This island, a mere spot on the globe, must indeed now be considered as presenting a sublime spectacle to the present, and to future ages. The historian of succeeding centuries will look back with wonder and admiration on this little island, now almost the only refuge left for real liberty; and the statist will scarcely believe that, whilst the ports of America and of Europe were shut to her shipping, she could still calmly oppose the unequal contest, still securely protect and extend her commerce, still bring home in safety the immense property of her traders.

from the most distant points of the globe, and still add to her manufactures, her commerce, and her revenues, whilst those of her initial rivals were in most instances diminished, and in many totally annihilated.

The politician will endeavour to investigate the causes of this singular phenomenon; he will find that England not only possessed eminent advantages in her local situation, in her soil and climate, and in the disposition, genius, and industry of her inhabitants, but that these were perhaps better understood, and sooner profited of, than in any other cotemporary nation; to these he will add her love of liberty, and capability of enjoying it, he will contemplate her security of property, her equal laws, and, in general, her navigation and colonial laws, founded on unerring principles, and yet framed so as to be accommodated to every imperious change of circumstance; and in these reflections he will find a solution for his inquiry of what had raised her to a rank so commanding in the scale of nations. Such a contemplation points out to us that line of general policy which will be most conducive to our own particular happiness; our ancient rivals on the continent may therefore increase their standing armies to aid them in their invasion of neighbouring states, or defend themselves from the just revenge of those whom they have already injured with us,

thank God ! the case is indeed very different ; our great resource, our best safety, must always be in possessing a commanding naval force; without at the same time neglecting those advantages which may be gained by the gallantry of Britain's sons, trained to the tented field.

To possess and to preserve however a superiority of naval power, it necessarily follows that we must preserve our superiority of maritime commerce ; this can only be done by a strict attention to the indispensable duty of cherishing whatever branch of that commerce may more particularly tend to increase our seamen and our shipping ; and, as a further stimulus, we ought to reflect that, unless we preserve this warlike and commercial superiority on the ocean, it will be impossible for us to preserve our external influence and independence, and of course we should risk the existence of our internal freedom and political happiness.

In an elaborate work written some years ago, (*Anderson on Commerce*), it has been remarked, with a kind of prophetical accuracy, “ And, by way of corollary, let us add, that if ever Britain’s external independence should be lost, that of the rest of the nations of Europe, that shall dare to oppose any overgrown tyrant, will be also at an end ! ” If any thing further was wanting to stimulate us to exertion, a truth so self-evident and so forcible will surely be sufficient.

In the present crisis of affairs, therefore, it behoves us more particularly to avail ourselves of every opening for the extension of our commerce, in order to counterbalance that partial diminution which must inevitably result from the measures pursued by France and America; and we naturally turn our eyes towards the Spanish Colonies, not indeed with views of conquest or aggrandizement, but to establish such an intercourse as will be productive of mutual advantage.

These immense provinces, stretching almost from pole to pole, through every variation of climate, are as yet, indeed, but in their infancy, and if merely left to themselves to acquire wisdom by experience, may be long before they rise high in the scale of nations; from us, therefore, advice and encouragement may be needful; yet we ought to recollect, as it has been elegantly observed, that there is no effort more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain, than an attempt to excite the spirit of industry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown; and we may add, that there is nothing more calculated to excite suspicion and distrust, than an appearance of foreign interference.

Any direct measures therefore, towards the improvement of those colonies on our part, even if practicable, would nevertheless be injudicious; the only stimulus which we can fairly

apply, will be that of a reciprocal commerce; and though the effects resulting from commercial intercourse may be but slow in their operation, yet they will be invariably sure, if any dependance can be placed on the observation, that wherever commerce has flourished, the people have enjoyed general plenty and happiness; and that civilization, urbanity, and a comparatively well-ordered government, securing the liberty and property of the subject, have always been its constant attendants.

It has been well observed by M'Pherson, in his Annals, that, "As agriculture is the foundation, so are manufactures and fisheries the pillars, and navigation the wings of commerce;" it is indeed to the first of these, both for their sakes and our own, that we must endeavour to direct the industry of our American friends, whilst their fisheries, particularly that of pearls, may also be deserving of encouragement.

By their attention being directed to the pursuits of agriculture, in the first instance many benefits will be speedily produced, population will be encouraged, and the different provinces will not only be improved and embellished by the labour and industry of the inhabitants, but even the climate will be rendered more wholesome and friendly to European constitutions. The accurate Robertson has observed, with great propriety, that where any region of

the earth lies neglected and uncultivated, the air stagnates in the forests, and putrid exhalations arise from the undisturbed waters; that the surface of the soil soon becomes loaded with rank vegetation, and is totally screened from the purifying influence of the sun; and that, invariably, from these causes the malignity of the distempers natural to the climate increases, whilst new maladies, no less noxious, are engendered. Happy would it indeed have been for a great portion of the human race, if such considerations had marked the Spanish policy towards their infant settlements, and much happier might it have been for Spain herself at the present day. The conduct of Spain however has been widely different, as it has been very judiciously observed by an anonymous writer about the middle of the last century. After a very candid investigation, he shews that their primary error arose from their attempting to fix their commerce by compulsion and constraint, and to establish their power by the sword alone. Experience of all past ages has indeed shewn both of these to be impracticable, whilst the latter perhaps was the *only* method by which they could have missed that end they were so anxious to obtain. Their system of monopoly too was founded on erroneous principles, and supported by an erroneous practice; for we see, if it is fair to judge by the event, that by their

constant endeavours, absolutely to secure the wealth of the Indies, to Spain alone, they scattered it throughout all Europe, whilst by their undisguised attempts at universal dominion, they alarmed those powers whom otherwise they might have made subservient to their views. Yet it is but fair to acknowledge that this erroneous policy did not arise from personal cupidity, nor from ignorant rashness, for the princes who pursued this line of conduct were neither rash nor hasty, neither profuse nor voluptuous, but on the contrary, have generally been considered as the wisest sovereigns of their respective eras, and in many cases, with great reason; it is evident therefore that their errors arose from not understanding the true science of colonial administration. Not only the government, but even the mercantile interest seem to have been biassed by a contracted and mistaken policy, and to have been principally anxious for large profits on small investments; for instead of supplying their different colonies with goods in such quantities as to render the prices and profits moderate, but at the same time extend their sale, the traders of Cadiz and Seville made their shipments with a very sparing hand, in hopes that the ardor of competition, and the natural rivalry amongst a numerous set of customers, who had only a scanty market to apply to, might leave ~~it~~ in the power of their factors to impose

their own terms, and thereby to dispose of these small cargoes at an exorbitant profit. It is evident that supplies thus sparingly dealt out, must have been wholly inadequate to the demands of colonies, even less populous than those of Mexico and Perú, particularly when we consider that they depended on the mother country for all the luxuries and many of the necessaries of life. It also followed that wants so difficult to be supplied, were in many instances totally suppressed ; this circumstance, however, holds out more flattering prospects of future commercial advantage, as the plenty arising from an unrestrained commercial intercourse will generate new wants amongst a numerous and increasing population.

The result, to Spain herself, was also productive of injury ; for, from the little stimulus to any kind of industry, except that of working the mines, a mode of labour confined to particular districts, her imports were principally confined to the precious metals, and there is no necessity to prove that a state may possess a great quantity of money without being powerful. Spain herself, who in the early part of the fifteenth century was a manufacturing country, is a proof of this ; for no sooner did Columbus and his successors begin the importation of large quantities of gold and silver into the mother country, than agriculture and manufactures

were almost totally neglected, so as to impoverish the state, and render her of much less consequence in the European scale, than before these acquisitions. But if she had preserved her home manufactures, and thereby extended her foreign commerce, employment would have been created for her poor, who would then have become her most valuable possession, her navy would have increased in proportion to her mercantile tonnage, great part of the treasure brought into the country would have remained in it, and she would have afforded an example of general opulence.

Should she now support herself against French tyranny, it is not too late for her to retrieve her lost time, if her ministry, by judicious measures, would avail themselves of the advantages which nature presents them with a liberal hand; and here we as a nation need feel no jealousy, nor commercial rivalry; for such measures, instead of turning to our prejudice, must ultimately tend to our greatest advantage, since of all the European nations we have the greatest power to serve them as friends, or to hurt them as enemies, that is, short of invasion. As our allies, we are more interested than any other power can be, in their protection, and to promote their welfare, must augment our own. With respect to commerce, if it should be renewed on a liberal scale, we can certainly supply their wants, both home

and colonial, at a cheaper rate, and more effectually than any other nation, and will also take more of their produce in return than any other nation can do; on the other hand, if at war, our extensive navy would always be able to defeat their maritime projects, and even in a great measure to stop their colonial intercourse. In such a state of things, as it would be more our interest to take their raw materials, as returns, than to receive them in bullion, except to a certain extent, for our China trade, and in some few other instances, it might be a question of policy with Spain, so far from making efforts to draw from their mines all that they can be made to produce, to endeavour rather to put a check on further mining enterprizes. This idea has been broached by some of the economists on the continent, and is particularly noticed by Bourgoanne, where he states the probability that it would be beneficial to them to confine the influx of metals into the ancient continent, to the quantity necessary to replace the insensible waste, from luxury converting it into domestic utensils, and avarice burying it, &c.

This idea indeed may be more speculative than practical; we shall therefore close this part of the subject with observing, that in any probable case, the cultivation and civilization of Spanish America, will open a wide field for its future greatness. Still it will be ne-

cessary however for us to preserve the spirit of our navigation system, by which means we shall be always prepared, not to prevent other nations from having a share in the trade, but to command a virtual monopoly of it, by our honour and honesty, superior industry, and longer credits.

In this view of the question, supposing the mother country still to retain her influence over the colonies, it will not be irrelevant to present a brief recapitulation of the share which we enjoyed of this transatlantic commerce some years back, and as the most favoured period, prior to the Assiento, we will go back to the reign of Charles II. of Spain. It may be necessary to premise that at that period in Spain, the duties in their book of rates, were not estimated *ad valorem*, but in proportion to weight and measure, and that these rates were in some cases so high as to amount to prohibition; for the tariff not being altered for many years, there were many species of goods which still paid the same duties, though sunk to half the original cost. In order to favour our merchants in this respect, particularly as Charles II. from the state of affairs then in Europe, was often in need of our assistance, a royal edict was published which abated twenty-five per cent. of the customs, which abatement was called the king's gratia; and the farmers of the revenue were also obliged to abate from

twenty-five to forty per cent. more. At that period our exports were carried in English bottoms to Cadiz, from thence shipped off annually in the galleons, either in the name of the Spanish factors, or were disposed of there to the Spanish merchants, who sent them to America at their own risk, and in return remitted us gold and dollars, or such produce as might be suitable for our markets.

To this state of commercial intercourse, however, a check was given by a contract called the *Assiento*, formed between the French and Spanish governments in the reign of Queen Anne; this contract originated with the Governor of St. Domingo, on the part of the French Royal Guinea Company; it was also a trading concern of the Kings of France and Spain, each of them having a fourth of the profits, whilst the whole capital was to be advanced by the company. The term of this contract was for ten years, the regulations were very numerous, and the company was only permitted to trade in negroes, which they were to sell at certain prices.

When France and Spain were at length desirous of putting an end to the war, this contract was held out as a bonus to Great Britain: and Philip V. transferred it to us with many favourable modifications, and also with the extraordinary privilege of sending annually to the fair at Portobello, a ship of 500 tons, laden

with European articles. By the ninth article of this Assiento, we were permitted to carry 800 negroes to Buenos Ayres; and it further declared, "That her British majesty, and the assentists in her name, may hold some parcels of land to be assigned them, by his Catholic majesty, in the River of Plate, from the commencement of this Assiento, sufficient to plant, cultivate, and breed cattle upon, for the subsistence of the persons belonging to the Assiento, and their negroes, and may build houses of timber only, but shall not throw up the earth, nor make the slightest fortification, &c." In consequence of these arrangements, a rapid intercourse took place; British factories were established at Carthagena, Vera Cruz, Panama, Buenos Ayres, and several other settlements, by which means our merchants became possessed of much local information, and were enabled to know all their probable wants, and thus to assort their annual cargoes to existing circumstances. But it was not the legal traders alone, who derived benefit from these establishments; the merchants of Jamaica, and the other persons engaged in the contraband trade, were thereby enabled to suit the market, and ensure a ready sale for their cargoes, and a most beneficial commerce became the result.

'Tis beyond our plan to notice the bubble which arose out of this Assiento; it is sufficient

to observe, that the South Sea Company possessed it until the year 1750, when by the treaty of Madrid we gave up the four remaining years of the contract, and the Crown of Spain paid up a considerable balance, as a complete satisfaction to the company. By this treaty also a complete stop was put to the foreign trade of this South Sea Company, so that it seems very difficult to conceive what damage they could sustain if the trade within the limits of their charter was entirely laid open. 'Tis true that their charges for licenses are but trifling, and as they are a chartered company, any infringement even of the letter of their charter must be illegal; yet it has been held as good doctrine by some sound lawyers, that even a charter, if *detrimental to the public interest*, ought to be set aside; and here, as they carry on no trade themselves whatever, they surely could not complain if they were to be paid by a parliamentary grant the full value of this part of their charter, and thus have the trade laid open without any restrictions whatever.

Though Spain departed so far from her general policy, as to permit a foreign nation to participate in the profits of her colonial commerce, yet, with respect to the colonies themselves, she adhered strictly to the ancient jealous maxims, and prohibited all commercial intercourse between the provinces, whose shores are

washed by the Great South Sea. This was indeed a prohibition of a very injurious nature, as each province possessed peculiar productions, the reciprocal interchange of which might have proved a mutual stimulus to the industrious exertions of the population of each, and thus have added to the power and wealth of the mother country. At length, in 1774, a royal edict was sent out permitting a free trade, and a general intercourse took place both on the continent and in the islands; so that Cuba alone tripled her commerce in the short space of ten years.

When we take a general geographical view of the Western Continent, we cannot help observing, that it is of a form extremely favourable to commercial intercourse; not like Africa, which is composed of one solid mass, unbroken by inlets of the ocean, possessing few navigable rivers, and these so far distant from each other, that a great proportion of the continent seems doomed to eternal barbarism, and to remain for ever incapable of carrying on an extensive communication with the rest of the world. In all these respects, however, the New World is as well supplied as the Old; for the Gulph of Mexico, between the two parts of the continent, is similar to a Mediterranean Sea, and affords great facility of communication with a large portion of the mass. As to Southern

America, it is entirely surrounded by the ocean, except where the narrow Isthmus of Darien joins it with the sister continent; and though it is intersected by no salt water inlets, the greatest part of its interior is yet of easy access from the large rivers with their tributary streams, which flow from the gigantic Andes, diffusing fertility, and facilitating intercourse.

The whole of this immense tract, which yet belongs to Spain, is now divided into four governments, or vice-royalties, viz. Mexico, Peru, New Grenada, and Buenos Ayres. This division is however but of late date; for originally the jurisdiction of all the provinces north of the Isthmus of Darien was entrusted to the Mexican Vice-roy, whilst the Governor of Peru was paramount in the Southern Colonies.

From this division great inconveniences were felt by the inhabitants of those provinces remote from the seat of government; and indeed it may well be imagined, that in a territory so partially cultivated, and in many places totally unexplored, the authority of a vice-roy could be little more than nominal.

It has been asserted that the population of this immense continent, is not so great as it has been; if so, the prospect of its becoming every day of more importance, will then stand on rational grounds. In the year 1741, a census was taken in the province of Mexico, by which

it appeared that the five principal divisions alone contained 190,000 Spanish families, amounting to 950,000 souls; and that the Indian families amounted to 294,000, which contained one million and a half, making the whole population about two millions and a half: of these it has been said that the city of Mexico alone, contained 150,000.

In Peru, it has been estimated that the Spaniards and the mixed race amounted to three millions, and the native Indians to two and a half more, in all five millions and a half, so that if we allow only two millions more for Chili, Buenos Ayres, and the population of the Spanish main, &c. we shall have ten millions of people, who will soon be willing to receive our manufactures and thus counterbalance in a great degree our deficit in other quarters.

Yet we must not expect to reap these benefits very rapidly, many causes yet exist to damp an opening trade, causes which will only admit of slow remedies: to understand this more fully, it will be proper to take a general view of the state of society and of population. The greatest part of the inhabitants are creoles, or the descendants of European parents; many of them indeed boast a descent from the original conquerors; yet, through the enervating effects of the climate, the vigour of their constitutions, and the energy of their minds are completely

broken, so that the greatest part of them glide through life in luxurious indulgences, sunk almost in apathy, and yielding tamely to habitual indolence, except when called on to assist in the pageantry of superstition, by priests as ignorant and as indolent as themselves. Rendered thus languid, and devoid of all spirit of enterprise, the exertions of mind and body necessary to carry on an active and an extended commerce, seem so destructive of those habits in which they place their happiness, that it is in very few parts of this extensive empire, the creoles will engage in it; so that both the interior commerce of each province, as well as the coasting trade, and even that with the mother country is entirely left to the European Spaniards or Chapetones, who in many parts amass large fortunes, whilst the native creoles indolently content themselves with the revenues of their ill-cultivated paternal estates; or if poor, saunter to the church or monastery in a check shirt and trowsers, with all the pride of a Castilian. From this state of society, we see there is a wide field not only for British commercial industry, but also for the employment of our superabundant active youth, who impelled by curiosity, and sometimes by the love of gold, feel anxious to visit the most distant climes.

Though emigration in general is a subject we wish not to recommend, yet that species of it

here alluded to will always take place, and has carried a great number of our young men, in the subordinate mercantile rank, to the United States, where the similarity of language and manners, and sometimes of politics, induces them to forget their native country, and become the settled citizens of another. But here this is little to be feared: of our youth who would resort to Spanish America, as factors, clerks, and perhaps as merchants, few would be lost to the mother country; we may see at the present day how much Scotland is enriched by the return of her frugal and hardy sons, from the banks of the Gauges; and it is pleasing to reflect that the field now opening in America, will be particularly adapted for the youth of our sister island, whose warmth and vigour of imagination will there find ample employment, instead of brooding over the invidious distinctions of party politics, or religious creeds at home. Their religion and their *Milesian* descent have always been ready passports to them in Old Spain, and will be particularly useful to them in this New World; and it is not undeserving of remark, that from the want of such an opening as the present, the Catholic youth of Ireland have hitherto mostly remained at home in idleness, which is invariably the parent of discontent. Now, though the curiosity natural to youth, will call them to distant lands, yet their fondness

for their *natale solium*, or their "love for the sod," for which they are justly celebrated, will always act so as to bring them to their friends and country, with understandings improved by experience, and fortunes which even though moderate will prove a blessing to the Catholic parts of that country, whose inhabitants only require a stimulus to render them as active and as useful as any other members of the British empire. If it be thought that we have rated the present population of Spanish America too high, yet we may fairly conclude that under probable circumstances it will soon be much greater; and the proof of this will be simple, if we consider that the predisposing causes to a decrease of population, will most likely soon be removed, and that "when the cause is once removed, we may suppose" that the effect will also cease." It had long been the fashion to assert in general terms that the cruelty of the first discoverers, and the very butchery of the natives in the frequent contests, had cut off the greatest part of the Indian population. This had been urged by many Spanish writers; nor was it ever controverted until Doctor Robertson, by a reference to authentic Spanish documents, was enabled to refute it in a considerable degree. Yet it is still but painful to allow, that circumstances arising from the conduct of the first colonists, tended much to depress, if not to de-

stroy the population in many districts. This arose from the inconsiderate policy they pursued; for we find that when the new-acquired countries of Peru and Mexico were divided amongst the conquerors, each of them thirsting after gold, was anxious to obtain a settlement in such places as would be likely to yield him a rapid fortune. On this account all agricultural views were laid aside, they thought not of forming settlements in the vales, whose fertility annually rewarded the industry of the peaceful natives, but hastened to explore the most mountainous parts, barren of every thing but rocks, and the long wished-for mines. All their activity, all their industry, was turned towards a search for the precious metals, and even their disappointments abated not their ardour: this accorded well with their spirit of enterprize, and had precisely the same effect on their minds as a habit of gaming.

In order to execute those golden projects, many labourers were required; and the natives were compelled to forsake the plains, and pursue these more laborious tasks in the mountains, where the rapid transition from peace, plenty, and comparative idleness, to a constant exposure to a chill and piercing air, joined to extraordinary labour and scanty food, soon brought on a general despondency, which not only cut off one generation, but also prevented them in

many instances from leaving families behind them. Great mortality also ensued from the introduction of the small-pox, a disorder whose virulence it is hoped may now be overcome by a happy introduction of the Jennerian process. It is true that these causes have already in some measure ceased to operate; yet there are still pernicious effects resulting from radical errors in the system of landed property, both in the nature of its tenure and of its distribution, and which are severely felt through all the Spanish settlements as totally depressive of general industry, and are indeed the principal existing causes which keep the progress of population on a more confined scale than we find it in colonies whose principles are better constituted.

Another cause, is the support of such extensive ecclesiastical establishments as are to be met with in every colony; this indeed is a business with which we have no right to interfere, yet we may here with propriety examine its origin and progress.

Midst all the desire of gain which hurried the Spaniards to the New World, they still preserved a strict regard to the externals at least of religion; and as early as the year 1501, only nine years after the first discovery, the payment of colonial tythes was established and regulated by law; by this system every article of primary necessity, as well as sugar, cochineal, and indigo,

were rendered liable to the tax. How far this, simply considered, may have been hurtful, may still remain a debateable question; a religious establishment must be supported, and where tythes fall equally, they are no more oppressive perhaps than any other tax; but even admitting that this legal imposition was an evil to the colonies, the colonists themselves increased it by the additions to which they were prompted by bigotry and superstition. Even at the present day they are remarkable for delighting in the external parade of their religion, and for a superstitious reverence for the whole herd of monarcy and priesthood, on whom they bestow the most extensive gifts and bequests for the establishment of churches, and the endowment of monasteries, thus improvidently wasting a large proportion of that wealth which might otherwise have served as a stimulus to active exertion in growing colonies; for the application of this wealth is worse than if it were thrown into the sea, as it enables the monks and the holy sisterhood to dele out their alms of food and drink to crowds of beggars, who would otherwise find it necessary to exert those talents which God has given them, for their own subsistence. This practice is indeed so completely subversive of industry, that it cannot be too much reprehended; yet 'tis a practice with which we ought in no instance to interfere, as it will cure

itself sooner than any probable measures of ours would be likely to do.

Yet this evil, now so much to be lamented, arose out of original good; for when those countries were first settled, the introduction of a number of ecclesiastics was a very proper measure; as we know that in those days they were very zealous, not only in converting, but also in protecting the natives on every occasion.

Times, however, are now altered, and monasteries and nunneries are by no means compatible with the increase of an infant colony, even if they were strictly consonant with the principles of religion. We ought, indeed, in some measure to except the Jesuits from these reflections on the Tonsure; they certainly, by their conduct in Paraguay, shewed themselves well fitted for reducing savage nations to subordination, and to some kind of industry; and their establishments might have been productive of much good, if they had not been so hastily dissolved about the middle of the last century. It is an extraordinary circumstance, notwithstanding the blind devotion of the Catholic world for the Holy See, in the sixteenth century, that Ferdinand of Spain should, with such policy and foresight, have taken the most careful precautions to prevent the introduction of the papal dominion into the Spanish Colonies. This he effected by obtaining a grant from Pope Alex-

ander VI. of the tythes of the new settlements, on condition of his making the necessary arrangements for the religious instruction and conversion of the natives; and a succeeding pope, Julius II. in a manner scarcely to be expected, confirmed to him the right of patronage, the disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices, and, in short, all the church authority in these extensive provinces.

We have been the more diffus^r in this part of our statement, as leading to an obvious truth, that the Protestant form of worship, unloaded with saints and holidays, would be, at least, the cheapest and most convenient religion for these colonies; yet, at the same time, we must deprecate all enthusiastic or *evangelical* attempts on our part to interfere with their establishment: if they are superstitious and ignorant, it is the more dangerous to meddle with it; and amongst all the exported articles of our own manufacture, it is to be hoped that of *missionaries* will not be one, for some time at least. The understandings of the natives must indeed be much enlightened before they will be prepared to receive the *simple truths* of Christianity: at present they carry their worship of images to an extent now unknown in Europe; they take such great delight in them as to carry them about on all occasions, and often carry them meat and drink, supposing them possess of feelings like their

own ; nor is it to be wondered at, as a sensible Catholic writer observes, when they can judge no otherwise but by the senses, and are unable to understand that images are no other than signs made use of to represent certain ideas ; nor need it be thought strange, he adds, that they should carry them meat and drink, since, seeing them magnificently decorated and incensed by the priests, they naturally imagine that they must also have food to nourish them, and that the smoke of the frankincense is not sufficient for their support. Of the pains taken for their instruction, we may form some kind of judgment from the substance of a sermon, as related by an intelligent traveller ; the holy father informed his audience that St. Francis was the greatest saint in heaven ; that when he came into that blessed abode, the Holy Virgin, finding no vacant place worthy of him, withdrew a little from her own to make room for him between herself and the eternal Father : but that St. Dominic coming also to heaven, St. Francis, his friend, and a faithful witness of his holy life on earth, would, out of humility, have given him one half of his place, when the Holy Virgin, guessing by those manœuvres, that he must be a saint of some consequence, would not consent to his sharing his friend's place, but withdrew a little further to allow an entire place for him, so that these two saints now sit between her and, &c. &c. !

Yet we must not laugh too much at Catholic superstition, when we recollect the mischievous folly of some of our own missionaries, two of whom were expelled from the island of Tortola for enlightening the minds of the negroes with wonderful descriptions of the new Jerusalem, "Where they should have no cruel task-masters, no cane-holes to dig under a vertical sun, but should hang their harps upon the willows, &c."

Frezier, in his Description of the South-American Settlements, says, with much *narrate*, that the Indians who reside on the Spanish borders, especially along the coast, seem willing enough to embrace the Catholic religion, if it did not prohibit polygamy and drunkenness; nay, some of them even consent to be baptized, but they still refuse to agree in these two points. What *pretty Christians* they make, appears from an anecdote of the Bishop of La Conception, who, going on a visitation in his diocese, was waited for on the banks of the river Biobio by upwards of four hundred Indians, who, imagining that the pious ecclesiastic was coming to take away their wives, were determined to drown him in the river, and it was not without great difficulty that they were persuaded to abstain from violence on their gloomy comforter. It is therefore to be hoped, that neither hypocrisy, nor a well-meant though ill-placed enthusiasm will prompt us to send any missionaries amongst

them, at least until the faint dawning of ~~infant~~ knowledge, arising from an open commercial intercourse, shall have fitted them to receive the pure and sublime truths of an *undecorated* religion.

Among other causes which have operated towards the discouragement of improvement, it has been urged that the shipment to Spain of the royal fifth from the mines was highly impolitic; yet this perhaps did not reach the extent that has been supposed; for, according to the best and latest accounts, the crown does not, or did not, receive, as a total amount of revenue from Mexico, much more than a million sterling, from which there were considerable deductions for the expence of the provincial establishments.

It was said that Peru perhaps yielded a sum equal to this, and that we might not be far from the truth in supposing that the remaining districts and islands produced another million; from all which, deducting the one half for expences of government in America, there was but one million and a half left for remittance to the royal treasury. This sum, in the aggregate, indeed, seems too small; and it may be added, that the calculation was made simply on the provincial taxes alone, without reference to the sums raised by import and export duties. Of these, the duties on imports must have been pretty considerable, when it is recollectcd that

they consisted of gold and silver stuffs, of silk manufactures of all descriptions, particularly gloves and stockings; a great variety of woollen manufactures, of linens, laces, thread, hats, and all kinds of felt work; spices, drugs, painters' colours, dying materials, perfumes, wax, in its various preparations; haberdashery, toys of all kinds, copper, brass, and iron ware; all species of dressed leather, paper, pipe staves, and vessel, for holding wine and oil, together with negroes, quicksilver, and, though last not least, immense quantities of papal bulls and indulgences, with which many of the small vessels from Europe were literally half loaded.

Of this long list of imports there are two articles which here deserve particular notice—negroes and quicksilver. With respect to the first, it is well known that the slave trade took its rise in the Spanish settlements from the mistaken humanity of *Las Casas*; and it must be confessed that, according to the present system, the extension of cultivation can only be carried on (at least in the first instance) by fresh importations. Spain at no period could do without slaves, and yet she has in general been indebted to other nations for her supplies; at the close of our *Assiento* contract, she endeavoured to keep this trade in her own hands, and gave it in charge to a new company, which had established a depot in *Porto Rico* for all the negroes

which it could purchase from the English settlements in the West Indies; and from the Dutch the Cape of Good Hope. The contract given to this company expired in 1780, and the Spanish government determined to purchase their own slaves at the first market; and, in pursuance of this new plan, they negotiated with Portugal, in 1778, for the possession of two small islands on the coast of Africa. These, however, were too small, and were badly situated for the trade; besides, Spain entered into this commerce with great disadvantages, having neither the goods fit for the market, nor ships fitted for the purpose, so that she was still obliged to depend on the other nations around her for a supply; and at the close of the war, in 1783, she gave a general permission to all her colonies to procure them by purchase from the other settlements. The Southern States of America for some time engaged in the trade, bringing her the refuse of the negroes from the coast, and she was also enabled to procure a few of the very worst from the English islands. To encourage the trade, a regulation was made obliging all foreign ships, entering at the Savannah and other ports, to import a certain number of negroes in proportion to their tonnage. The supply by vessels of the United States was soon stopped by the laws forbidding American citizens to continue in that trade; a short spec-

dote will, however, serve to shew how much the spirit of that regulation was obeyed by some of the Americans. Towards the close of the last war, an American ship arrived at Nassau, in New Providence, from some of the Southern States, with a cargo, for which she could find no market; the master therefore determined to proceed to the Havannah, but was rather puzzled on being informed of the regulation respecting the bringing of slaves. He contrived, however, at last, a very ingenious mode of getting rid of the difficulty, and, having weighed for the ostensible purpose of proceeding to sea, came to an anchor in a small bay at the east end of the island, and landing in the night, helped himself to the necessary number of negroes, eight or nine, off one of the neighbouring estates. The wind chopped round against him in the morning, and, whilst he was busy warping out from the reefs, an express was sent to Nassau, where a frigate was laying as guardship; her boats were immediately sent round, and in a few hours they brought Jonathan to his old birth, where the proper measures were taken to rectify his ideas about the slave-trade.

But to return to our subject,—whatever may be the fate of the colonies, they must have supplies of slaves; in this branch of trade, England cannot participate, nor can the United States, except as a smuggling concern; if Europe

was even at peace, it would be long before Holland could, or perhaps would, engage in the trade; the Northern States could do nothing, and as for France, nothing could be expected from her. There is no other power then, except Portugal, or, more properly speaking, Brazil, that could engage in it; and it is possible that a ready profit might induce the Brazilians to extend a commerce which they already carry on to some extent, both from Angola, and from Zanguebar, on the eastern coast of Africa. There is another mode, also, which doubtless will not escape the ingenuity of some of our own traders, who are not so evangelical as to perceive any sin in the traffic; they are however so well skilled in the use of Hamburg and Papenburg colours, that *they* require no further hints for this new smuggling concern.

With respect to the second article, it is of a more legal nature, and will be no disgrace to any honest trader, though it takes its name from the God of Thieves; this article, vulgarly called quicksilver, is indeed an article of the first necessity in the Spanish colonies, particularly at present, as the procedure by amalgamation has become almost universal. From the repeated scarcity of this mineral, many mines in Mexico have been entirely abandoned, both indeed from the great expence of procuring it, and the difficulty of conveying it over roads almost impassable.

ble. Spain herself for a long time supplied the American market with quicksilver from her own mines, particularly from that of Almaden, which always fetched a very high price in Mexico; but the quantity not being sufficient for the demand, a contract was entered into by Spain with Austria for a supply from the mines of Istria and Carinthia. The mines of Idria, in the Austrian territory, are said to have produced 231,758 pounds annually; but those of Almaden in Old Spain, were once much more productive, having afforded between five and six thousand quintals, of one hundred weight each; and from the latter, in the year 1717, there were upwards of 2,500,000 pounds weight sent from Spain to Mexico. Some quicksilver, though in small quantities, has been brought from Peru to Mexico, and some even from China by the Acapulco ships; and there are also mines of the same substance in Mexico, but from various causes they have not yet been worked. In Peru, the supply had principally been from their own mine of Guancavelica, which some years produced upward of a million of pounds; this mine was discovered in 1563, but if not now exhausted, is in a very bad state, as *Helm* says that the pits had fallen in, and all the works were gone to decay. There are some mines indeed at Villarica, in the back parts of Brazil, but these have not yet been worked; the rising spirit of industry may perhaps prompt to

their examination. "For a supply of this article therefore, the colonies must be indebted to England; and it is even at the present moment highly necessary that our government and our mercantile interest should turn their attention towards a supply of this necessary article, by shipments to Vera Crùz for the Mexican market, as well as to the coast of Peru. In this state of the case the following extract from Campbell's Political Survey, is highly deserving the attention of our ministers, our miners, our mineralogists, and our merchants.

" It seems equally strange that our old writers should assert that there was plenty of quicksilver and cinnabar in England, and that the most judicious and inquisitive of our modern naturalists should be as positive that there is neither;—it is not impossible, or even improbable, that if sought for it might be met with:—it is therefore judiciously recommended by the Cornish antiquary to examine the mines, &c. &c " It is indeed to be hoped that this may become a matter of serious consideration with our Royal Society, and that of Arts, as well as the more modern Geological, and Mineralogical Societies.

These immediate wants, independent of other considerations, must soon lead to an extended intercourse; still we must not expect any very rapid advantages, we will find however that a slow progress towards improvement, particularly

in commercial concerns, is more likely to be permanent than a sudden demand which always ends in glutting a market; besides a great commerce has hitherto been carried on with these colonies, by the West India contraband ~~trade~~, and that to such a degree, that the adventurers at the Bahamas, at the close of last war, being unable to find a vent for their cargoes, were actually selling European produce, by public vendue at Nassau for little more than one third of the prime cost; 'tis true the quantity was not very great, but it shews that the market at present may be overdone. A quantity of European goods, at different times have also found their way into the South Seas, by means of our whalers, and of vessels expressly fitted out for this speculative commerce on the coast of Peru; so that our views are not to be directed to a rapid demand, but to the progressive amelioration of the state of the inhabitants, which will produce a more equal distribution of wealth, will excite to industry, and will increase their wants in proportion as it becomes more easy to gratify them. This last position might appear paradoxical if we did not recollect, that these people have been accustomed to check their wants from an inability to supply them, and that this habit must be overcome before there can be any very regular demand in the countries so extensive as the provinces of

North and South America; we must expect a great variety in their respective wants and capabilities; it will therefore be more regular to take a short analysis of each, previous to any general conclusion.

In Mexico, both Old and New, we have already seen that there is a considerable population, yet the greatest part of these extensive territories is still in the hands of the natives, who are naturally an easy, peaceable, and even a generous people, and had made considerable advances in civilization at the first discovery. The soil is in general excellent, abounding with timber and fruit trees; and the face of the country is elegantly and usefully diversified with hill and dale, and intersected by numerous rivers. All kinds both of wild and tame cattle are to be found there; fowl and game is plentiful; the rivers abound in fish; and the whole country if better cultivated would be as pleasant a district as America possesses. Corn of all sorts, both European and Indian, amply repays the labour of cultivation; but the native produce, for which it is most valuable, consists of indigo, sassafras, sarsaparilla, cacao, vanilla, sulphur, amber-grease, hides, wool, cotton, and sugar; there is also another article which may yet be of staple consideration in a commerce with England, and that is the culture of silk which has already made some progress, and if encouraged, might

amply supply our deficit of the raw material in the European market. With respect to their mines, the quantity annually coined at Mexico, has hitherto been very great; by an account of the coinage in the year 1793, it appears that the total amount was to the value of 884,262 hard dollars of gold coinage, and 23,428,680 of silver dollars, making a total of near twenty-four millions and a half of dollars, or about six millions sterling. This however is but a minor consideration when compared with the reflection that whatever deficiencies may arise from the embargoes or non-importation acts of the United States may be amply counterbalanced in a short time by our imports from Mexico. The produce of cotton in particular might be considerably increased, as there is much soil adapted to its cultivation; flax and hemp are indigenous, and though neglected for other articles in hopes of greater profit, might now be made articles of the first importance; the exports of indigo already amount annually to fifteen hundred *merobas* of twenty-five pounds each, and that of pimento to eight thousand quintals. Tobacco was introduced into Mexico about fifty years ago, and is even now become an important article of traffic; cochineal has been exported to Spain to the amount of five thousand quintals; and vineyards have become extremely common, and form an article of great promise. The latest

statistical accounts say, that the Indians are now encouraged to form villages, by grants of land; that the produce of many articles has been tripled in the last few years; and that tillage and the rearing of flocks and herds, have become universally diffused, and carefully attended to. Manufactories have also been established, but not to any extent; that of coarse cottons, which are the general dress of the Indians, is only able to supply a small part of the consumption; there are several tanneries also established, but the leather is but indifferent; of woollens, there are no less than forty-three manufactures in the district of Puebla alone; but this article can never rival the English cloths, as the dearest is only six reals per yard. Glass-houses and potteries have also been attempted; and there are upwards of one thousand looms employed in fabricating veils, mantles, and other light articles both of cotton and silk.

This incipient state of improvement is satisfactorily accounted for by *Estalla*, the latest Spanish writer, whose observations have been used with great judgment, and acknowledged with equal candour by Mr. Pinkerton in his geography. We are there told that America for many years after its discovery was considered merely as a country of mines; but that now all the different branches of industry are attended to, and that traffic also has been annually increasing since

the year 1778, when greater liberty of commerce was allowed. It is to this liberty of commerce, and to the new system throughout, that Mexico is considered by *Estalla*, as indebted for those advantages which have completely silenced all the interested declamations of those engaged in the ancient monopoly, and it is that also which has turned so many capitals to useful purposes; for he observes, that at first the merchants chagrined at losing their exorbitant profits, gave up commerce, and turned their attention to the cultivation of the lands; and that soon after a new race of men engaged in trade, who were contented with moderate gains, so that agriculture and commerce became equally benefited by the change.

The *royal city* of Mexico, the capital of this province, deserves particular notice, being also the capital of the Audience and of all New Spain; it is seated at the foot of a chain of lofty mountains, and in the midst of an extensive lake, which thence derives its name; in point of regularity it is described as perhaps the best built city in the universe, but that must apply rather to the laying out of the streets, than to the elegance of the architecture. All the buildings however are convenient; and the cathedra, the churches, monasteries, nunneries, and a few palaces are said to be magnificent. The revenues of the cathedral amount to upwards of seventy thousand pounds-

per annum: but this need not be wondered at, when a Spanish author assures us that the city is above six miles in circumference, and contains above one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; that they are rich to an extreme, and that the most valuable productions of both East and West Indies, are daily exposed to sale in the markets.

There is another object of considerable importance which deserves notice in this place, as it is so much connected with the general welfare of Mexico, and that is its Indian trade, as carried on between Acapulco and Manilla. For this purpose the port of Acapulco is admirably situated, and possesses peculiar advantages, being allowed by the best informed writers to be both secure and convenient, and much superior indeed to any other in those seas. It lies in 17° N. lat. and its harbour possesses sufficient anchorage for several hundred sail. It is completely defended from the swell of the ocean, by a low and narrow island which lays athwart the entrance, about one mile and a half in length, in an east and west direction; this island however leaves a deep channel, clear of all danger, and of convenient width, at each end, by which ships may go in and out with the same winds, though the custom is for them generally to run in with the sea breeze, and to take advantage of the wind off the land for their departure. No time however

is lost in waiting for a wind, for these breezes blow regularly in alternate succession, day and night. Being the nearest sea-port to Mexico, it has of course a great connection with the capital ; the town itself is considerable, but not well built, on account of the frequency of earthquakes, and the unhealthiness of its situation, which induce the principal inhabitants to leave their houses to the care of slaves, except at the time when the ships are expected from the Philippine islands. Some alteration may however be expected to take place when its commerce becomes greater, and the arrival of ships more frequent; and indeed there is no doubt that its unhealthiness may then in a great degree be corrected by proper regulations. This quarter indeed presents great prospects of an opening traffic both lucrative and extensive, which, as it will have a great connection with our East India trade, and with the chartered rights of the company, deserves a very early attention. It was for many years, entirely by the route of the South Sea, that Spain carried on her intercourse with these islands, an intercourse which has been described as being without profit for her European subjects, and of which the only advantage was reaped by the Chinese, the Armenians, and some other traders of the East. Even the revenue it was said derived no advantage from it, and the very trifling produc-

of the duties was not sufficient to defray the expences incurred in collecting them; whilst the inhabitants of the Philippines themselves, without industry, or even attempting cultivation or commerce on their own accounts, had no other connection with the trade than the commissions which came into their hands from their local situation. At that time one, and sometimes two ships departed annually from Acapulco for Manilla, which carried silver to the amount of half a million of dollars, but had scarcely any thing else of value on board; and the returns which they brought back, were mostly spices, drugs, china and japan wares, calicoes, chintzes, muslims, silks, and in short, all those articles of luxury and fancy, with which the ingenuity of the East has enabled its simple inhabitants to supply the rest of the world. *Sonnerat*, a writer of some observation, says that the returns of the galleons were worth every year at Manilla about three millions of dollars, which were soon expended in merchandize brought to Manilla in country vessels; and he also observes that the traffic was a real loss to the inhabitants, for on one hand they bought their merchandize at an exorbitant price, and on the other they stripped themselves of all the specie which entered the island from Mexico. With all the nationality of a Frenchman he complains, that the force of habit, the convenience of trafficking with gold,

instead of merchandize by way of barter, which was considered as too troublesome, made them prefer trading in money with the English country ships, to a commerce with vessels from the isle of France, who would have taken in exchange for European goods, the productions of Luconia, such as cordage, pitch, tar, sugar, oil, reeds, canes, indigo, and roucou or annatto.

One great cause of the disadvantages under which these islands laboured, was that Spain could carry on no trade from Europe to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, being bound to that effect by a treaty with Portugal, which was also guaranteed by the treaty of Westphalia, in 1640; but in the early part of 1785, the Spanish ministry, influenced as it is said by the reasoning of the Abbé Raynal, established a new royal company, the Royal Philippine, with a capital of about £1,300,000 sterling. The principle on which this company was first established was that they should have the charge of dispatching all the ships for South America, from whence other vessels also under their direction were appointed to carry on the trade between Acapulco and the Philippine islands, whose inhabitants were gratified with the liberty of subscribing one-tenth of the original stock; and for their further encouragement, by a royal edict, the ports of the islands were opened to the ships of all nations. Previous to this, an

active commercial intercourse had been carried on with the Chinese at Canton, and great numbers of that indefatigable and overflowing people were so much allured by the hopes of gain as to settle in Luconia, under the Spanish government. The trade hitherto carried on from Manilla to Canton, and some few ports in India, had been principally for such articles as were wanted to supply their investments for the coasts of the South Sea; these consisted of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, nutmegs, mace, &c.; of the rich carpets of Persia, the camphire of Borneo, the silks, muslins, and calicoes of Hindostan, and the tea, silk, china, and cabinet ware of China and Japan. Of these, silk stockings were at one time an article in extraordinary demand; but the market in Peru became at length so glutted that, as we are told by a late traveller, French silk stockings, in 1791, fell from forty to six dollars per pair!

The Indian stuffs in demand were not only calicoes and chintz, but also stuffs of gold and silver; and a great variety of ornamented articles were also in fashion, particularly of goldsmith's work, which were manufactured in Manilla by the Chinese, of whom there were upwards of thirty thousand resident there as manufacturers, brokers, and even as domestic servants.

When the Philippine Company was establish-

ed, the *annual* Acapulco trade was laid aside, and the company soon becoming richer by having the capital of the Caraccas Company joined to their's, an extensive trade was opened between America and the East.

A mere geographical detail is not within our plan; it is not improper however to observe here, that the Philippine islands are extremely numerous, and extend over a large space; some of them are evidently the effects of volcanos, and possess the fertility of volcanic lands. They are indeed generally fertile and healthy, and produce gold, copper, and iron, ship-timber of a good quality, hemp, cattle, hides, sugar, tobacco, rice, grapes, sago, cacao, wax, saltpetre, alum, and cowries which are universally used as small current money throughout all India. These products, together with their cochineal, indigo, and silver from Mexico, form now the objects of barter for the Spanish Company with the merchants of India, whose muslins, silks, and calicoes, teas, spices, quicksilver, and china ware, they export partly to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, which passage is now open to them, and partly to Acapulco, where they meet a ready sale.

Of the *real* value of these islands very little is yet accurately known; the whole country may indeed be esteemed a maiden one to European naturalists, particularly with respect to

botanical researches, but we may judge of its varied fertility when in a very short residence. Sonnrat was enabled to procure six thousand specimens unknown in Europe.

The number of subjects of all descriptions, who acknowledge the authority of Spain, is upwards of one million; but there are still in the interior many populous nations with whom the Spaniards have very little intercourse, and whom they have long endeavoured to *subdue*, but in vain. Such is the state of these islands at the present day, a state also which is improving, and may be expected to improve more rapidly when stimulated by a more direct intercourse with the British isles, or at least with the British settlements in India. How much may yet be expected, may be drawn from the observations of a modern and in general a well-informed writer, who tells us that the minister of the Indies endeavoured to excite the industry of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding the supineness from which the appearance of gain only can awaken them, have a considerable genius for agriculture, manufactures, and even ship-building and navigation.

Cotton manufactures, according to his account, have already been established at Manilla; and their fabric has proved that, although the inhabitants have for a length of time been useless colonists to the mother country, it was not

from ignorance or indolence, but from the want of a proper stimulus. Such a stimulus they will now receive; and we may look forward with sanguine hopes to their being useful to the commerce of this country. How far the India Company, may object to the intercourse of private traders, is as yet uncertain; but if they object to the passage of vessels through the *Indian Seas*, they can surely throw no obstacles in the way of those who, having gone round New Holland, may chuse to proceed to the Philippines by the eastern route.

The passage, besides, from Port Jackson to Manilla is but a short one, and may in general be performed in either monsoon, both ways, thereby affording a speedy mode of supplying our settlements in New Holland with rice and other provisions in case of a famine or sudden scarcity. These reflections, however crude from our knowing so little of the Philippines, are yet certainly deserving of public attention, and point out the probable advantages of a direct intercourse, if that can be done without infringing the chartered rights of our India Company; to whom, it may not be amiss here to hint the advantages which might be derived by a direct trade from our Eastern settlements to the ports of Mexico and Peru: for, from the improved state of English navigation, the produce of our Indian colonies might be transported across the

Pacific, at a cheaper rate than they can possibly be supplied through the circuitous route of Manilla, loaded with shipping and re-shipping charges, and with the intermediate profits of those through whose hands they must necessarily pass; whilst in return, our vessels might carry bullion for the China market, thereby diminishing the exports of that article from the mother country.

But to return to the American coast, where our attention is next peculiarly claimed by the extensive territories of California and New Albion. As to the first of these, lying almost entirely within the temperate zone, we may naturally conclude that its climate must in general be favourable to cultivation and to the health of its inhabitants. In the summer however, particularly in those places not yet cleared, and also on many parts of the coast, they suffer sometimes from great heats; but in the interior it is generally temperate, and in the winter a considerable degree of cold is felt in the most northern parts. The country is charmingly diversified with hill and dale, well wooded, and watered; the soil is extremely fruitful, being fit for all kinds of grain peculiar to Europe or America, and abounds with fruit trees which have been introduced there from Mexico. All sorts of wild fowl and game, as well as of domestic fowls common to both hemispheres, are here in

perfection, and they have two species of deer which are peculiar to the country: the seas, as well as the rivers, are also well stocked with a variety of fish, so that there is every facility for the support of an increasing population.

In the Vermillion Sea, or gulph which separates it partly from Mexico, a very valuable pearl fishery has long been established; the want of mines however for a long time prevented this territory from being attended to by the Spaniards. This deficiency, in the grand stimulus to Spanish colonization, is now indeed in some measure supplied; for Vancouver informs us that, although New Albion has not yet been supposed to contain any valuable minerals, and that even California was not considered as much richer in that respect, yet he understood that at the distance of fifty miles to the north-west of the Presidio of Loretto, which is situated as far north as the twenty-sixth degree of latitude on the shores of the peninsula, watered by the Gulph of California, the Spaniards had very lately discovered two silver mines that were stated to be productive.

This discovery has tended considerably to fix the attention of the Spaniards to this immense territory, though even now they are so backward in the science of colonization as to adhere to the mode originally adopted in settling the country, a mode, as Captain Vancouver observes, by no

means calculated to increase the population of white inhabitants. As this country is so susceptible of improvement, and is so closely connected with our prior claims of discovery on the coast of New Albion, we feel tempted to follow Captain Vancouver through his very judicious observations on its present state. We find that the Spanish inhabitants are of two distinct classes, inhabiting the Missions and Presidios, or in other words, are either priests or soldiers, who lead a confined, and in many respects a very indolent life; the religious part of the colony dreaming away their existence in a cloister, and the military sleeping in their barracks, unenlivened even by the parade and evolutions of a soldier's profession. As to the soldiery, they in the strictest sense of the word *do nothing*; for they neither till, sow, nor reap, but depend entirely for daily subsistence on the industry of the other inhabitants of the Missions and Pueblas, or townships. This extreme indolence in the soldiery, whilst on duty in the Presidios, seemed so incompatible with the exertions of the Spanish settlers in the Pueblas, that it must have remained an incomprehensible contradiction, very prejudicial to their general character, had it not been explained by shewing that to support the consequence of the soldiery in the eyes of the natives, it had been deemed highly improper that they should be allowed to pursue any labo-

rious employment, which of course accounted for that habitual indolence and want of industry amongst the military, who form a considerable part of the numerical population? That the circumstances likely to ensue from the present crisis, may produce a beneficial change, is confirmed by further observations of the traveller already alluded to; for he expressly says, that their progress towards civilization seems to have been remarkably slow, and that it is not likely to become more rapid until the impolicy of excluding foreign visitors shall be laid aside, and an amicable commercial intercourse established instead of it, so as that new wants might be created, and an idea of new comforts be also introduced. Some *modern* philosophers have indeed asserted that those nations who had the fewest wants were always the happiest; and some have even gone so far in their scale of happiness, as to place the rude unlettered savage above the civilized European; but these are the mere reveries of closet philosophers, and are always denied by men who *have seen the world*, and who are thereby enabled to appreciate the comforts of savage and of civilized life. In opposition to those crude theories, there is no doubt, whatever, that this general intercourse would stimulate the inhabitants of California to a profitable industry, that the value of their lands would soon be ascertained, that cultivation would be better at-

tended to, and that their stock of cattle in particular would increase, so as to enable them to dispose of a considerable surplus of their produce for exportation, or in exchange for such articles of convenience and primary necessity, as would render them more comfortable and happy, and even assist them in their ordinary labour, in which they are very deficient through want of the different implements of modern improvement. In a short time we might therefore expect that a beneficial commerce would take place, though at first on a confined scale. Provisions and timber would be the general export, with some sea-otter skins from the northern districts ; and though, as Captain Vancouver observes, the sea-otter skins obtained in these parts are by no means equal to those collected further to the north, yet they would not fail of becoming a profitable commodity in the China market. In order to show how much may rationally be expected from a rising colony in this quarter, it will not be improper to take a slight view of the origin of the settlement, as it will thereby appear that a more rapid progress has taken place, than mere theory would justify us in supposing, from such trifling exertions as have been made in its favour by the government.

About the close of the seventeenth century, the attention of the Jesuits was turned to this distant province ; and the perseverance of that

industrious, though perhaps ambitious order of men, soon enabled them to explore a country hitherto almost unknown to Europeans ; to produce a considerable degree of civilization among its rude inhabitants, to reduce them to subordination, and imperceptibly to establish an empire over their minds, as completely as their brother missionaries has done in the wilds of Paraguay. With all the policy peculiar to their order, they were careful to prevent the Court of Spain from cherishing any jealousy of their designs, and thereby checking their proceedings ; to this end in all their writings they took great pains to depreciate the general value of the territory, representing the climate not only as unpleasant and unhealthy, but also as inimical to fertility, and the soil as being so barren and unproductive, that nothing but an ardent desire to bring so many lost sheep within the pale of the church, could have induced them to encounter all the horrors of this voluntary banishment. Some travellers, however, who possessed more candour, or were less interested, gave an account so very different, that several public spirited Spaniards used all their endeavours to impress the importance of this settlement on the minds of the government but for a long time in vain ; the dissolution of the order of Jesuits, however, induced Galves, the Spanish minister for the Indies, to visit the western world, in order to

judge of the truth of these representations. After traversing great part of California, he gave in a report to the King of Spain, in which the country was represented in the most favourable manner; and in this report he described the pearl fishery as being extremely valuable, and the mines of gold to have a most promising appearance. Measures were immediately taken to preserve the advantages already obtained by the Jesuits, and military establishments were formed to keep the natives in subjection. At this period the two most northern settlements were the Missions of Velicata on the coast of New Albion, and of Santa Maria at the bottom of the Californian Gulph, which thus formed a kind of barrier or advanced post to the Mexican territories. About the year 1769, however, the jealousy of Spain was considerably excited by the rapid progress which Russia was then making in prosecuting her discoveries, and in reducing to subjection the different tribes which inhabit the countries of North-west America, along a vast portion of the shores of the North Pacific Ocean. In order to counteract these proceedings, and to check the progress of the Russians towards Mexico, the new establishments of Monterey and its dependencies were begun with some vigour, and have already repaid the Spaniards in a great measure for their expence and trouble. The benefits indeed resulting to

this territory in general, are much greater than the Spaniards intended, and will tend rather to facilitate encroachments than to repress them; for having brought from New Spain a quantity of cattle to stock the neighbourhood of their own settlements, these have increased to such a degree in the woods to the northward, that to exterminate them would now be impossible. Indeed the observations of the judicious Vancouver, who writes from his own practical knowledge, are sufficient to convince us of the great value of that part of New Albion, to which, from prior discovery by Sir Francis Drake, we have a prior right, though such a right might hitherto have been waved or not acted upon for political reasons. Should however the Spanish Colonies become no longer dependent on the mother country, from her subjugation to France, we are called on by the soundest policy to assert our claim, and to prevent the attempts of other nations from forming settlements there. This can only be done, by taking actual possession, and such a settlement might be formed on the principle of that of New South Wales, and at much less eventual expence, as the colony would be able to secure its own subsistence in the course of a year, and perhaps even to supply that of Port Jackson, which, from the floods in the rivers destroying the crops and several other causes, has even of late years been often on the

verge of famine. The writer, whom we have last mentioned, in speaking particularly of the most northern parts of this country, says that the Spaniards, in addition to stocking the woods with cattle, have also pointed out many fertile spots, some of which are very extensive, and into these they have introduced all the most valuable vegetable productions; not confining themselves to those which are more peculiarly necessary as mere articles of food, but even those which are subservient to all the comforts and luxuries of civilized society; and by their experiments have left little for a new colony to do, except to proceed to immediate cultivation, for they have exactly ascertained how far each species may be expected to succeed. Add to all this that a great portion of the natives, even beyond the limits of the Missions, have been weaned from the rude habits of uncivilized life, and are not only become obedient to social regulation, but are also accustomed to the most useful domestic occupations. These observations will of course point out the facilities which exist for an infant settlement, and naturally lead to the conclusion, that the advantages which have already been derived, and are still likely to arise from the prosecution of a regular commercial intercourse between this coast and China, India, and perhaps Japan may, and most probably will

at some day not very distant, become an object of important concern to an enterprizing nation which might be inclined to pay attention to these hints. At present Russia seems principally to engross all the advantages resulting from this trade, and this not so much from her own spirit of enterprize, or fitness for commerce, as from an absurd competition which took place amongst other private adventurers, not only in their traffic on the coast, but also at Canton, the only market to which these north-west furs can at present be carried with a prospect of sale.

We may now close this sketch of North-west America with observing that if Spain falls, these countries will then be of no value whatever to the colonies, as they will have no population to spare for their occupation, nor will they indeed require them for any purpose necessary either to their welfare or aggrandizement. In case of such an event, Russia no longer bound to preserve a cautious policy towards Spain, would extend her settlements, and perhaps endeavour to secure by force of arms, those countries in which she has so long traded. Even the United States would feel an interest in securing the ports on the Pacific Ocean, as preparatory to the extension of their inland settlements, and according with the views which it is well known they have formed respecting the great river of the west, and of thus uniting the

two oceans by means of this river, the Missouri, and the Mississippi.

To the Spanish Colonies it would indeed be of material consequence that a barrier should be formed in this quarter by the occupation of a friendly nation, in preference to those who would be more likely, as it would be more their interest, to attack their independence. To whom must they look then but to England, whose interest it must be to protect them in their new independence, and increasing improvement?

This part of the subject leads us on to some very important considerations on the future policy of the United States; crouching as they are at present under the influence and counsels of France, it is not to be supposed that they will take any hostile steps towards the dominions which the *imperial brother Joseph* claims as his own, nor that they will venture by any public act to discover their wish of gaining territorial power to the southward, whilst such a proceeding might give offence to Bonaparte; yet the time may not be very far distant when the policy of France may induce her to stimulate the States to hostile aggression, and by a promise of part of Mexico with the Floridas, prevail on the *free and independent citizens of America*, not only to assist in the subjugation of their high spirited neighbours, but also to share in the spoil, a measure easily reconcileable to the creed

of the *liberal philosophy* of the new school. Many causes of territorial dispute now exist between Spain and the United States, which were likely to lead to a rupture with the old government, and may soon be kindled into a flame, should the colonies declare their independence; we shall therefore take a cursory view of the bordering countries, and to prevent any suspicion of wilful misrepresentation, great part of our observations shall be drawn from the memoir of an accredited agent of the United States, which may very fairly be considered at least as semi-official authority. The northern parts of West Florida, according to the present boundary as settled after the pacification of 1782, is in general of a very inferior quality, except on the banks of the Mississippi, and is indeed of little value either for farming or planting; on the low grounds however, and in the bottoms which are watered and sometimes overflowed by the numerous rivers, the soil is extremely fertile, in some spots, but in others so low and marshy as to hold out no very flattering prospects of any very great future value to be derived from the province as a settlement. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the towns of Pensacola and Mobile, were at one time very flourishing, but this was owing to causes of an extraneous nature and not dependent upon the

general fertility of the colony: Pensacola was the seat of the government whilst the colony was subject to England, and from the goodness of its harbour was much frequented by English shipping, and it also enjoyed in common with Mobile, great facilities for the Indian trade, at that time very considerable, but now from various causes, much on the decline; so that the decrease of population in the interior having diminished the produce, exportation is almost at an end, and both these towns have suffered in the general decline of agriculture and commerce. Although West Florida is but of little consequence when considered separately, and as unconnected with the lands laying to the northward of it; yet in the opinion of Mr. Elliot, the writer alluded to, it is of immense importance when viewed as possessing all the avenues of commerce to and from an extensive and fertile territory, which it does by occupying all the mouths of the rivers from the Mississippi to the eastward, a tract of country nearly ten degrees in length, and extending in breadth from $30^{\circ} 15'$ to 31° of north latitude; whilst the country north of it belonging to the States, spreads from the thirty-first degree of north latitude to the sources of the Pearl, the Alabama, and the Chattochacha rivers, and of several others, all of which discharge themselves into the Gulph of Mexico, through this province.

The coast of West Florida abounds in live oak and red cedar, fit for all purposes of ship-building, and not to be found further north in this direction; and as Mr. Ellicot observes, from the safety of the coast of this province, added to the great number of harbours proper for coasting vessels, (that of Pensacola into which a fleet may sail and anchor with safety, and that of St. Joseph's into which vessels not drawing more than seventeen feet water may sail at all times of the tide) "It must be highly important at all times in a commercial point of view, and if connected with the country north of it, capable of prescribing maritime regulations to the Gulf of Mexico." The population of West Florida, is but inconsiderable; and its principal settlement inland is that on the banks of the Mississippi, between the boundary line and the Iberville.

Mr. Ellicot then observes, in a manner sufficiently calculated to mark future plans, that West Florida in a political point of view must always be considered as an object of the greatest importance to the back settlements of the United States, particularly those to the southward of the Ohio, "Because that power, which holds the avenue to commerce, may give a tone to the measures of another, should it be unfriendly to liberty and public happiness!"

On the borders of West Florida, though in

Louisiana, is the city of New Orleans, of which it has been said that no other place upon the continent of America, or perhaps in the whole world, can command the trade of an equal extent of fertile territory, and as that vast country increases in population, so must that city in magnitude, wealth, and commerce. Of the opinions held in America, respecting this city previous to its cession to the United States, we may draw a fair conclusion, as the American writers tell us, that it was then a place of very considerable importance, both on account of its population and its commerce, "And that some gentlemen of respectable talents looked forward with pleasure to a period which they conceived not distant, when it would be annexed to the United States." As these hopes were expressed long before Bonaparte thought of begging it from Spain to present to his dear friends over the water, we can here only suppose that these "gentlemen of respectable talents" hoped to gain it by negociation, *perhaps by conquest*. The latter mode was indeed not unlikely, for it is well known that the back settlers finding that they could have no vent for their produce, the Spaniards having refused them the navigation of the Mississippi, declared publicly to the American government, that if a free navigation of the river was not procured for them, *they would take*

their blazing irons upon their shoulders, and make a conquest of Louisiana.

Mr. E. in his memoir indeed says, " For my own part I do not see any advantage we could derive from the possession of it at present. The United States are already in a great degree possessed of its commerce, and draw from it annually a very large sum in specie ; and that probably with much more ease than if it was in our possession. When I give this opinion, I would only be understood to mean, while it is in the possession of his Catholic Majesty. Rather than a transfer should be made of it to any power in Europe, or than it should become part of a new empire, I should think it our interest to possess it."

With respect to East Florida, the soil is rich and fertile, abounding with all sorts of timber and fruit trees, especially pines, palms, laurels, cedar, cypress, and chesnut trees ; it also contains great quantities of sassafras, of which large exports have taken place. It produces also corn, rice, roots, and culinary herbs, with very little labour ; fish, fowl, and even flesh, are also in great plenty, and might become much more so, if the population was increased, or if they could be stimulated to greater industry. It was at one period well inhabited by the Indians, particularly about the Appalachian mountains,

where the climate was peculiarly healthy; and we are told that the natives of Florida, from their situation, possessed an extraordinary firmness of constitution, which distinguished them from the other Indians, as well as superior bodily strength, being much larger and longer lived than the Mexicans.

The country is well watered by rivers, but has few good ports on the Mexican side, the whole coast being nothing but an assemblage of rocks and sands; on the Atlantic shore however, there are many small harbours, inside of the dangerous keys and reefs which render navigation so difficult in the Florida or gulph stream. These harbours on the eastern coast are however of very little advantage to the Spaniards; and Mr. E gives his government a hint respecting them, which at the present moment deserves our serious attention. He complains that instead of any advantage being derived, either to the United States, or to his Catholic Majesty, from these favourable situations, they merely serve as dens to English privateers; and he then confesses, that nearly the whole coast of East Florida, "so far as maritime possession gives a right," is under the dominion of the Bahama islands; the coast and islands being uninhabited even by a single solitary settler from Apalachee almost round to St. Augustine, from the different parts of which, the inhabitants of the Bahamas cut and carry

off, without interruption, as much of the valuable ship-timber as they find necessary or convenient.

This certainly savours a little of the dog in the manger ; for the American citizens, if they please, may derive as much benefit from these uninhabited islands, as the inhabitants of the Bahamas can do ; however it points out, to us, that if the United States can make a claim to this coast, we shall be interdicted from all those advantages, an interdiction of material consequence, as the wood is much fitter for ship-building than the stunted timber of the Bahamas ; besides, at Bermudas also, the loss would be severely felt, as their principal employment is that of building small vessels, for which there is such a rapid demand that cedar is now becoming very scarce, and consequently has risen to a most enormous price As to its interior, East Florida possesses indeed but few advantages, being in no respect superior to its sister province ; it presents, however, a temptation to the United States, for though, as Mr E. observes, it does not appear equally interesting with West Florida, as none of its navigable waters rise within their territory ; yet it is nevertheless of immense importance to them, being from its situation well calculated to give security to the commerce between the Atlantic and Western States, and may be considered one of the main keys to the

trade of the Gulph of Mexico. He then points out to their notice two very fine harbours, one of which, Hilsborough harbour or inlet, is very capacious, and will admit any vessel of four and twenty feet draught over the bar.

A strong jealousy seems to have existed between the Americans and Spaniards ever since the ratification of independence; and another author has observed, that if the citizens of the United States look to the southward, they see Spain possessed of East Florida, and endeavouring to strengthen it as a barrier between the States and their invaluable islands, and the still richer territories of the southern hemisphere; "Viewing their actions with a jealous eye, and ready to go any lengths to crush the importance they may acquire in the scale of nations." This certainly is all very fine; but that Spain, whilst merely preserving her own colonies, should be considered as *crushing the importance* of her neighbours, seems to shew pretty evidently the political morality of some writers at least on the subject.

In pursuing his view of the American States bordering on the Spanish territories, Mr. Elliot observes very judiciously that the inhabitants of no part of the United States are so much interested in establishing manufactures as this; they possess within themselves all the raw material, and can export their products with ease, but their

imports are attended with difficulty, great risk, and expence. He then states, that so long as they receive neither bounties, nor uncommon prices, for their articles of exportation, and depend upon the Atlantic States for their supply of European manufactures, the balance of trade will constantly be against them; and draw off that money which should be applied to the improvement of the country and the payment of the taxes. That the Southern States must indeed remain in this state for many, many years, there can be no doubt whatever, and the reason is very obvious, though Mr. E. does not explain the seeming paradox of exports being easy, whilst imports are difficult. The only vent which these States can find for their exports is by means of the Ohio, the Mississipi, and some smaller rivers, down which the passage presents but few difficulties; but to return by the same route is totally impossible against the stream, except at an expence of time and labour, which can never be repaid. As returns cannot therefore be made this way, no very extensive commerce can be expected, except for their staple articles of corn and salt, and perhaps provisions; whilst the imports in lieu, must be made by a circuitous route, and be also brought a considerable distance by land carriage. Under these circumstances, no export of manufactures will be likely to take place, nor will they even commence manufactures for their

own consumption, whilst so much land remains unoccupied on the Mississippi and Missouri. Any person at all acquainted with the state of the back settlements must be aware of this, for the very term *back settler* in common discourse conveys the idea of a half-savage, little removed from the character of a buccanier. These people, from being accustomed to an unsettled life, are never content to stay at one farm : they occupy lands on the Indian frontiers, cut down the woods, bring the farm into some state of cultivation, then leave it with its log-hut to some new adventurer, who tempts them with hard dollars : when the back settler with his wife and family, carrying their pots, hoes, and musquets, retire farther into the woods to some new giant, or very often occupy such lands as suit their fancy without any regard to proprietorship, or making any inquiry to whom they belong, for inquiry would be in vain in the midst of a pathless desert. The new comers, even though European settlers, can not be supposed to be *very civilized*; they therefore adopt the customs of the country, and are content to purchase their clothes and other necessaries from the travelling store-keeper, who disposes of his stock for flour and salt, which he carries to New Orleans, in vessels which are called *boats*, but which in general, on their arrival at the mouth of the Mississippi, are only fit for firewood. In this state of society, it is not in

the back settlements that we are to expect to find a manufacturing country.

The boundary line between the United States and the Floridas was arranged by treaty soon after the general pacification, in 1783, but was never finally surveyed until between the years 1796 and 1800, when American commissioners were sent to accompany the Spanish officers and agents, in the survey and final surrender of the Spanish posts on the Mississippi; and an interesting memoir of these proceedings has been drawn up by Mr. Ellicot, by which it appears that considerable jealousies and difficulties arose between the officers of the two nations.

This boundary line begins a little below Fort Adams on the Mississippi—crosses the river Mobile about forty-five miles from its mouth---then crosses Pensacola river, and continues in an eastern direction until it arrives at the river Chattahoochea; all this line is on the parallel of 31° north latitude. It next proceeds along the banks of the Chattahoochea, for about fifteen miles in a south-east direction, and then in a line east by south until it approaches the river St. Mary in the Okefenokee Swamp, in latitude 30° 35'—and the river St. Mary with its various windings finally becomes the boundary between Georgia and East Florida, until it falls into the Atlantic Ocean at the town of St. Mary's, in latitude 30° 42' north.

At the adjustment of this line, Louisiana was the barrier of Mexico : this province had been originally settled by France, but was given up by negociation ; and Bourgoanne speaking of it, says that from the moment Louisiana was ceded by the French to Spain, the Court of Madrid, which to subjugate this colony, had employed such vigorous measures as could not fail to render its yoke odious endeavoured to soften its fate by granting to the inhabitants, privileges proper to ensure their prosperity, and at the same time the advantage of the mother country. Amongst other regulations, as their most abundant exports consisting of tobacco, indigo, cotton, and furs, had but small chance of an extensive sale in Spain, it was agreed upon between the two courts, that French vessels might load with these articles at New Orleans, but that they should arrive there *in ballast*.

Such was the state of Louisiana until within a few years, when, by a new arrangement between the Court of Spain and the then First Consul, this colony was again delivered up to France. The occurrences respecting its subsequent cession to the United States, are fresh in the public recollection, though very little attention seems to have been paid to the motives which induced the States to make this purchase. That the intentions of France were any thing but friendly towards the United States, when this

hocus-pocus transaction took place, must be evident to any one who glances his eye over the map of America, as it appears that nothing was more likely to create *territorial* disputes between the States and Spain, than the geographical position of their respective provinces; we shall however waive this part of the question, and proceed to the view of this important measure as stated by Mr. Ellicot in the introduction to his memoir, which being a kind of demi-official publication, deserves that the passage should be given as a literal extract.

" Since the following work was put to the press, a great change has taken place in the political situation of part of the country on the Mississippi;—I mean the cession of Louisiana by the Republic of France to the United States. On the advantages to be derived to the United States from this cession, there will probably be a variety of opinions; the security of the navigation of the Mississippi is certainly an object of the last importance to the inhabitants of our western country, and without which it might be difficult to retain them in the union;—but on the other hand, an immediate possession and sale of the lands, west of the Mississippi, might have a tendency to scatter our citizens, already too widely extended, to experience all the advantages of society, civilization, the arts, sciences, and good government, and might lower the price of our

public lands by bringing too great a quantity to market. It does not appear by the cession of Louisiana to the United States, *that we obtain the whole of both sides of the Mississippi*, for it will be seen that the Island of Orleans which lies on the east side of the Mississippi, only extends north, to Marseilles, from thence northerly along the east side of the river, to the southern boundary of the United States, is still held by his Catholic Majesty as a part of West Florida, and which separates the Island of Orleans from the other possessions of the United States on the east side of the river, but on the other hand, the cession of Louisiana separates the possessions of his Catholic Majesty on the Gulf of Mexico."

After this clear statement, it is surely unnecessary to give any further proofs of Bonaparte's bona intentions towards his dearly beloved allies, but indeed the Americans seemed too eager for this acquisition, to attend to the Virginian line

"Tunc Duno, et dom ferentes!"

Mr. Elliot next enters more particularly into the policy necessary for the States to pursue in this delicate situation of things.

"On this subject, a question of great importance, and by no means a speculative one must naturally present itself to the mind of every person who carefully considers the situation of that

country as held by the United States and his Catholic Majesty.

"By the cession of Louisiana to the United States we gain *but little on the Gulph of Mexico*, and are but little benefited as a maritime people. The important and safe harbours in both the Floridas still remain in the possession of his Catholic Majesty.

"When we take into view the great extent of that part of our Southern and Western territory, the trade of which naturally flows into the Gulph of Mexico, and the small part of the coast to which we have any claim, a doubt will arise, whether it would not be for the interest of the United States to exchange that part of the Cession lying West of the Mississippi with his Catholic Majesty for the two Floridas.

"The possessions of both nations would be rendered more compact by the change, and it would prevent the commissie of a large extent of our country, lying between the Mississippi and Chattahoocha rivers, being put in jeopardy by the future regulations and directions of any foreign power."

As the territorial property of these colonies still remains as it was when these observations were written, the same reasons of course for wishing the occupancy of the Floridas still exist; and, were the exchange to take place between the Spanish monarchy and the States,

no objections could fairly be made by any other power whatever, though we should certainly lose those advantages which even by Mr. Elliot's account we hold by a kind of prescription. Should, however, the unfortunate issue of events in Spain render it necessary for the Spanish Colonies to legislate for themselves, it must remain a matter of considerable doubt how far the Floridas would accept of American protection; if indeed, the inhabitants, finding themselves so completely insulated from their countrymen in Mexico, were to desire an union with the States, it might perhaps be the wisest course they could pursue, and would be productive of no detriment whatever to the other colonies; but if they, proud of their independence, and influenced by that natural jealousy and distrust which now exists between them and their northern neighbours, should prefer following the fate of their sister colonies *under the protection of Britain*, a new subject, and one too of a delicate nature, might arise between Great Britain and the States of America.

That the circumstances already hinted at might influence the States to an attempt upon Florida, is certainly not improbable, and it must ultimately be successful; not so, however, with respect to Mexico and the other colonies.

With respect to such a contest, Mr. Pinkerton, indeed, in his Geography, seems to think

there could be no doubtful issue; he asserts, " That the only difficulty would be for the States to find troops, for their brave militia would not easily be induced to quit their homes and families for this distant warfare; especially as the States have already too much land, and their wisdom would perceive that the acquisition of mines, and too easy wealth, at this period, might obstruct a far more important object, the cultivation of their own territory, and its gradual extension towards the Pacific, so as to command the East Indian trade." But if the contest became serious, if the honour and lasting advantage of the United States were once supposed to be implicated, they could, by one effort, send a sufficient force to seize the whole empire of Mexico, the difficulty being *in the march*, and not in the battle; and, after an easy conquest, open a grand canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and command a prodigious commerce!"

After the contemplation of this *very dashing* enterprize, Mr. P. however, very properly disclaims all intention of "setting nations by the ears," a design which he had formerly been accused of by Francois de Neuf Chateau, then President of the French Senate.

That such views and Quixotic ideas, as Mr. P. here describes, are warmly entertained by many in the United States, there can be no

doubt; and it is to put our statesmen at home upon their guard, that they are particularly noticed here: the making of the attempt, however, does not necessarily ensure its success, and we certainly agree with Mr. P. that the *first difficulty* would be in the march, therefore, until that difficulty can be proved as one *easily overcome*, we need not speculate on the issue of *the battle*.

To form a judgment of these difficulties, we need only premise, that the shortest march which the States' army could take, until they made their appearance before Mexico, would be at least one thousand miles, over deserts, swamps, rivers, and forests; and, at the same time, it is evident that they could bring no artillery with them to answer any purpose of modern warfare. It would be necessary, also, to assemble a considerable *supernumerary force*, in order that the loss of men on such a march should not reduce the invading army below what was absolutely necessary for the enterprize. That the States could assemble such a military force is indeed very unlikely; and, if Mr. P. has ever seen the *brave militia* of America, it might have occurred to him that *such a force* was by no means calculated for the service in question. Of those citizens, indeed, thrown out of employ by the *embargo*, some might be found disposed to go on a buccaniering expedition; but, as the principal part of the force must consist of troops

drawn from the Tennessee and other inland countries, we must find some other motive to set them in motion, some motive of more influence on their minds than the honour and advantage of the United States. What energy of patriotism, indeed, what sacrifice to public spirit, can be expected from men who have voluntarily expatriated themselves, have given up their allegiance to their native country, and settled in the woods of America? Is it from these men that military measures on patriotic motives are to be expected? Certainly not; yet that such attempts may be in contemplation is by no means unlikely; they therefore deserve immediate attention, particularly as the success of the attempt is not absolutely impossible. As to the plan of forming an open communication between the two oceans, that shall be more particularly noticed in the course of a few pages.

Having thus examined the state of the country to the northward of Mexico, we shall proceed towards South America; but, in our progress to the eastward, must notice the countries of Honduras and Campeachy, which deserve some attention, particularly as this system of extending the territories of the United States might shut us out from our logwood trade on that coast. All these provinces are now comprehended under the Mexican government; they were however independent States at the invasion of Cortes,

Their population, 'tis true, at ~~first~~ time, was but small, nor has it since been much increased by European settlers, so that the whole coast, from the Bay of Campeachy as far as the Isthmus of Darien, presents nothing but an almost uncultivated tract. Of this the reason is self-evident; for this part of the country is neither distinguished for mines, nor even for any great fertility of soil; its principal source of wealth, indeed, consists in the immense forests of logwood trees, which line the banks of its rivers, an article which has long been in great request for European consumption, and which must always preserve its value in the market, from its superiority to any other article of a similar kind in use with dyers; it will therefore always be an article of primary necessity in a manufacturing country. The whole of this trade remained in the hands of the Spaniards for a long period; nor was it interrupted by any nation, until the English, by conquering and settling Jamaica, found it beneficial to avail themselves of the advantages presented by an unsettled country. The frequent expeditions of the ~~big~~ caniers to these coasts had made them well acquainted with their harbours and rivers, and with the peculiar advantages to be derived from a temporary occupation of them; and the inhabitants of Jamaica soon perceived not only the great profits to be derived from this logwood

trade, but also the facility with which they could meet the Spaniards in the European market. In consequence of these considerations, towards the close of the seventeenth century, an establishment was made at Cape Catoche, on the north of the Bay of Honduras ; and the adventurers, who neglected all prospects of permanent settlement, or of cultivation, found themselves amply repaid for their risk and labour by their profits in this lucrative employment of logwood cutting.

A considerable alarm was felt by the Spaniards at what they esteemed an absolute encroachment on their rights ; they saw, in this attempt, not only a certain loss to themselves in the home market, from the superior industry of their competitors, but also a precedent for further schemes of settlement in those countries on which they set a high value, not so much for any positive benefit which they themselves were inclined to draw from them, but as a kind of advanced guard to those provinces which contained their most valuable mines. They therefore endeavoured to put a stop to this business by remonstrances to the British Court ; but, finding little could be gained by negotiation, they resolved to drive away our logwood cutters by open force. It is not our plan here to detail all the Spanish wars of the last century ; 'tis sufficient to observe, that, at the peace of 1763, certain points were

given up by the Spanish Court¹²⁴ which has enabled us to form settlements, and to prosecute the trade with greater vigour. This measure, at that time, must certainly have been very unpalatable to the Spaniards, particularly as it enabled a foreign nation to settle within such a short distance of Mexico : it is now, however, a circumstance which must bind us more closely to this province, both for their sakes and our own.

A short time, however, after these grants were made, our trade suffered considerably from the policy of the Spaniards ; the tract of country given up to England was the most worthless part of the coast, and, being extremely marshy, produced wood of a very inferior kind to that on the western shore of Yucatan, where the Spaniards commenced the cutting trade with considerable spirit. The superior dryness of the soil not only made the wood better, but also proved more favourable to the health of those employed in this very laborious occupation, so that the Spaniards not only were enabled to counteract our commercial rivalship, but to repay themselves for their exertions by the improvement of their own colonies ; thus showing to the world, that a rational rivalry in commerce and domestic industry will always be more beneficial than that envious selfish principle, which prompts to depress, and to

destroy, by means of the sword, those whom it cannot equal by generous emulation.

In consequence of these proceedings on the part of the Spanish Colonists, our logwood trade soon experienced a sensible decline; nor can our traffic in mahogany be considered as very lucrative; yet our possessions on this coast, for many obvious reasons, must still be considered as *worth preserving*.

To the west of these lands, and between Yucatan and Mexico Proper, there is a district which deserves peculiar notice, particularly at this crisis, when the supply of live cattle for our West Indian settlements is almost totally at a stand from the United States. This district is *Tanasco*, at the bottom of the Gulph of Mexico, or rather in the bight of Campeachy Bay; a narrow tract, laying along shore, and not particularly valued by the Spaniards, either with respect to its soil or climate. It has, however, for many years, been of some importance to the Jamaica people, particularly in the early part of last century, when the logwood cutters were accustomed to frequent the coast for the purpose of trading with the inhabitants; who, lying out of the way of all commerce, and being little attended to by their countrymen, were well pleased to receive supplies of European commodities from the hands of the interlopers. It was then

found that this tract possessed considerable advantages, of which the Spaniards in general were ignorant, for, as it contained no mines of the precious metals, it had been thought unnecessary to pay any particular attention to its welfare : some settlers, however, had found it an agreeable residence, and had good farms, well stocked with cattle, which, in their traffic with the English, yielded them considerable profit. This trade may certainly be now undertaken with every rational prospect of advantage, not only as a supply of food, but as affording cattle for agricultural purposes in the islands, and which, from being born in the climate, must be fitter for mill-work, or even field labour, than those half-starved animals which were received from New England and Massachusetts.

The Isthmus of Darien, though boasting neither fertility nor cultivation, now claims our attention from its *political* advantages. This was, indeed, the first part of the main of America, where Spain attempted to plant her colonies ; yet, as it was soon found that its principal value arose from its possessing ports which might serve as depots for the commerce of the two oceans, the Spaniards were content with establishing the cities of Portobello and Panama, without paying any further attention to its cultivation. The whole face of the country, indeed, is adverse to agricultural pursuits ; it is in

general nothing more than a tract of mountainous land, whose elevated summits attract the clouds of the Pacific and of the Atlantic, and are therefore deluged with rain for more than half the year, rendering the whole country very unhealthful; its mines too were never of much value, and are now nearly worked out; so that the only advantages derived from it, were the facilities of intercourse between the different parts of their extensive dominions, and its being the route by which the treasures of Peru and Chili were brought to Portobello, in order to be transported to the mother country.

The two cities of Panama and Portobello, are, indeed, the two principal points of communication which Spain possesses with her vast colonies, or rather were so before she opened a more circuitous intercourse by sea round Cape Horn. At the early period of her possessing these countries, they might with great justice be considered as the keys of these extensive territories; and, in consequence of these favourable circumstances, Panama soon became a populous city, and a place of great trade. Portobello, however, from its extreme unhealthiness, was only considered as a place for the shipment of the treasure, and landing the cargoes of the galleons; it therefore was almost totally deserted, except at the time of the annual fair, at the arrival of the fleets. From the change,

however, which has taken place in the mode of conducting the trade, Panama has declined considerably from its former importance, whilst Portobello has experienced some partial improvement. Yet Panama is deserving, in this place, of particular attention, as it is still a kind of intermediate channel of communication for Mexico and Peru, and their respective ports, and is likely to be a convenient residence for British factors, from its being nearly in the centre of the coasting trade of the South Sea, whilst its communication with Europe is much quicker, particularly by letter, than from any other part of this vast empire.

It is pleasantly situated on the side of a gently rising hill, close by the sea side, and is of considerable extent, containing several churches, as well as convents and monasteries. The houses are large and airy, and built entirely of timber, so that conflagrations have been pretty numerous, yet its inhabitants seem but little to fear them; they are rich, in general, from their active commerce, and have within themselves a considerable consumption of European commodities, particularly in the richest stuffs of silk and cotton, which are in great request by the ladies. Its harbour is secure and capacious, and formed by the shelter of several large islands, inside of which shipping find excellent anchorage, about two leagues and a half from the city itself; not

being able to approach nearer from the shoalness of the water; for the shore, in front of Panama, lies with a gentle slope, and the tides, which are regular, having a considerable rise and fall, the beach is left dry at ebb-tide to a distance of some miles. Its trade is certainly not so great now as it was formerly, yet, as we may soon see it re-established, it will not be unfair to take a view of it when in its zenith. At that time we have already noticed, that it was the port where the ships from Guayaquil, Callao, and Valparaiso, sent on shore the treasure destined for Cadiz; and it was also the staple market for such European goods as were brought up the Rio de Chagre; it was also the regular thoroughfare for all persons on their way to and from Europe; and to all this it added a considerable traffic by means of the coasting trade with Peru, from whence came corn and flour of every species, Chili wine, brandy, sugar, tobacco, leather, olives, oil, &c The vessels from Guayaquil, and the other ports of Quito, brought large quantities of cacao, and Jesuit's bark; and the small coasting craft were employed in frequent trips to the neighbouring ports and rivers, in order to secure a supply of provisions, whose exorbitant dearness, not only in Panama, but in all the surrounding district, could only be counterbalanced by the advantages of an extensive commerce, and by the wealth derived from

its very lucrative pearl fishery. As this city is the great centre of commerce between Mexico and the southern ports of Peru and Chili, so the merchants who still reside there are considered as opulent, though they have lost the most lucrative branch of their trade, that between Europe and South America.

With respect to the communication across the Isthmus, the nearest route is that between Chagre and Panama, though the principal one has always been from Panama to Portobello, which is nearly double the distance of the other.

Chagre, on the Northern Sea, is situated on a steep rock, at the mouth of the Rio de Chagre, about eighteen leagues to the westward of Portobello : the harbour is safe and commodious, with twenty-four fathom water for some distance up the river ; and the only danger is a bank in mud-channel, at the entrance, with a safe passage on each side, the western having nineteen fathom, and the eastern twenty-four fathom at low water.

The navigation of the river is performed in large flat boats, which were sometimes mounted with guns, in the days of the buccaniers ; and in these boats all kinds of goods are carried as far as the *Barcudero of Cruzes*, which is nearly in the centre of the Isthmus, though, from the winding of the river, the distance is considerably increased. From *Cruzés* to *Panama*, by

land, is about twelve or thirteen miles, though at present upon a road so rocky and so narrow, as not to admit of any wheel carriage for the greatest part of the way, so that all goods must be transported on the backs of mules.

The communication by which the treasure was conveyed was twofold, the summer road was entirely by land, from Panama to Portobello, a distance of about sixty miles, performed all the way by mules, but with several good resting places at towns, or rather villages, where refreshments might be had. As this communication may again resume its importance, we may be allowed to describe it nearly in the words of an old traveller, who relates that they set out from Panama on mules, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and travelled until about four next morning, before they arrived at the first house on the road. In this part of their journey, they were obliged to carry burning tapers in order to fright away the wild beasts, they then proceeded to Venta de Chagre, and crossed the river. On the approach of evening they recommenced their route, ascended a very high mountain, where, from the steepness of the road, it was impossible for them to keep on their mules without clinging fast round their necks, and even then incurred great danger, for some parts of this path is not above two feet in breadth, with precipices on each side four or five hundred feet deep. After proceed-

ing some distance, they came to Rio de San Juan which falls into the Chagre, and here they were obliged to ride a considerable way up the bed of the river, over immense fragments of rocks washed down by the winter torrents, with the water in some places up to their mules backs; they next crossed some lofty mountains, over which are roads about three feet in breadth, paved with large broad stones by the Indians, and arrived at Portobello, after a journey of four days, their mules travelling about twenty miles per day, but even this with great difficulty, for on the frequent journeys many of them died upon the road.

If the summer road from Panama is difficult, the winter one is more so; for after surmounting all the obstacles of land-carriage as far as Santa Cruzes, travellers embark on board of the flat boats already mentioned if the water is high, and may then arrive at Chagre in three days; but otherwise they are often detained ten or twelve days, as the river is full of shoals and falls, and is indeed very shallow in the summer. When there is too little water in this part of its course, the treasure is carried by a long and circuitous route to the westward, to the *Embarcadero*, a place above sixty miles from Panama, where it is shipped in boats, to proceed down a small but deep river, called Rio de la Trinidad, which falls into the Chagre about nine miles from its mouth..

These different modes of travelling are certainly convenient for the communication between the two coasts, as the Rio de Chagre in the summer is frequently so low that boats cannot pass, and when the rains have fallen to make it navigable, the other route by land is totally impassable; and we have noticed these particulars more especially as leading to the general consideration of a speedy communication by this way with the South Sea and East Indies.

All the country on each side of the Chagre, and indeed throughout the greatest portion of the Isthmus of Darien, is of little value in an agricultural point of view, the climate has always been reckoned unhealthy, the soil either a sterile rock, or an impassable bog, the rivers either dry, or swelled with torrents, and their water muddy, and esteemed unwholesome. Yet Darien is not totally without its temptations, for some late travellers have asserted that it produces gold. they state that there are many deep gullies or ravines in the mountains, which form the centre of this far famed isthmus, through which in the rainy season the rapid torrents bring down much of the soil, in which at times has been found abundance of that precious metal.

The settlement attempted by Scotland before the union, being totally destroyed, does not require particular notice here; we shall therefore

proceed to a slight view of the water communication between the two oceans, which has more than once been seriously thought of.

That route, where the smallest portion of land intervenes, is certainly by the lake of Nicaragua, situated in the province of that name to the southward of Honduras. This lake is about one hundred and seventy miles in length, stretching from north-west to south-east; and in the widest part is nearly half that in breadth. An entrance from the Gulph of Mexico, or more properly speaking from the Caribbean Sea, called the river of San Juan, certainly presents considerable facility to such a plan, but it is not known what depth of water it possesses; and on the side of the Great South Sea, a smaller stream is said to run from the lake. If this report is correct, it would naturally follow that if both outlets consist of fresh water, the lake must be elevated above the level of the sea on both sides, so that no direct passage could take place but by means of an artificial navigation; and with respect to the latter outlet, as it is only said to exist during the inundations, it offers but few grounds of hope to speculation.

Mr. Pinkerton indeed seems sanguine on this subject, for he says, "In the hands of an enterprizing people this lake would supply the long wished-for passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific, and in the most direct course that could

be desired. Nature has already supplied half the means; and it is probable that a complete passage might be opened at half the expence of the fruitless expeditions to discover such a passage to the north." We ought however to recollect here that *expence* is a relative term, and that from the expence and difficulty of procuring labourers in this quarter of the world, a cut of one mile would be more costly than one of ten in England, without taking into the account the erection of locks, or in lieu of them, the extra depth to be dug in a swampy soil, or blown out by mining through a long course of rocks. But there is another difficulty which has not yet been proved to exist, and may by some be deemed unphilosophical; that is, that there is a difference in the level of the two oceans. Now even if this did not exist in a literal point of view, yet we ought to recollect that the distance from sea to sea, is sufficiently great to allow the rotundity of the globe to have some effect, and as a tangent line from one side, to meet a corresponding tangent from the other, would form a point of meeting some feet at least above the point on each side from whence they diverged, it would require the canal or passage to possess a considerable depth in the centre, in order to keep a level through its course. Mr Finkerton indeed adds, "This speculation must depend on circumstances; but if a passage were once

opened, the force of the ocean would probably enlarge it, and a tribute at this new sound would be a considerable source of revenue." This observation may certainly be an additional temptation to the United States to endeavour to possess themselves of Mexico; but as so much labour must be performed before the two oceans can be brought in contact, we believe the speculation must be laid on the shelf, with other *desiderata*.

Another passage has been thought of, by means of the river Chamaluson in the Bay of Honduras, which being united by a canal with a river at Puerto Cavallos, would extend to the Bay of Fonseca.

In the reign of Philip II. all these points were examined by an engineer, as it is mentioned by Herrera, and though we are not in possession of the whole report, it is known, that this last route was at once declared impracticable; and as for that by the Isthmus of Darien, it is not to be expected that canals can be cut in a country, through which even the roads are scarcely passable.

We now approach the Spanish main, which is so well known as to require but little elucidation; we shall however briefly notice its most prominent advantages, as connected with our West India possessions. -

In the provinces of Cartagena and Santa Martha, the country is still mountainous; but the

vallies are more extensive than on the isthmus, and they are in general well supplied with an equal irrigation at all times of the year, so as to suffer but little from the torrents in the rainy season. The population is as yet but on a contracted scale, and cultivation of course is not very extensive; it produces, notwithstanding, great quantities of valuable drugs, and in some places great numbers of emeralds have been found.

The Court of Spain seems to have paid but little attention to the interior of these two colonies, being fully content with the commercial advantages to be derived from the port of Cartagena, the safest and best of any throughout their whole dominions.

Of the two provinces, Santa Martha is the most desirable, being esteemed as much cooler and more healthy than its neighbour Cartagena; their products however are pretty much the same, as they yield in considerable quantities, cotton, tobacco, chocolate, Brazil wood, vanilla, sugar, and even wheat and wine. In the woods they afford a supply of wild cattle, and the *estanzas* or farms rear black cattle and mules. There is a pearl fishery at Carrejal, near Cape de Vela; it is however badly conducted, and yields but a trifling profit, though it might be rendered very lucrative: the mines are not very valuable, consisting only of a gold

mine on the banks of the river ~~Antioquia~~, about ninety miles from Santa Martha, and some copper mines at Ocaña.

These provinces form part of the new vice-royalty of New Grenada, an extensive territory, which can scarcely be said to be yet explored; it is not therefore surprising that the sum total of its commerce, is but little proportioned to its many and various advantages. This vice-royalty however contains some manufactures which are deserving of notice, and which exist principally in Socorro, Velez, and some other towns or rather villages situated in the level country. These consist chiefly of coarse cotton cloths, of carpets, of counterpanes, and of some coarse woollens, for which there is a considerable demand, not only for internal consumption, but also for exportation along the coast of the South Sea, by means of the ports in the province of Quito.

The northern provinces, which are more particularly connected with our West India settlements, produce great quantities of excellent timber, fit for every purpose of ship-building, and the dying woods are said to be much superior to those of Campeachy and Honduras. The cocoa, which has been lately cultivated on the banks of the river Madalena, is now esteemed equal to that which comes from the Caraibeas,

and the cultivation of cotton and tobacco might be increased to any extent.

In the encouragement which might be offered to those countries by a free intercourse, great advantages would be derived from the facilities of inland communication, as the rivers of Atrato and Madalena are navigable through a great extent of country, and the two ports of Santa Martha and Carthagena are alone sufficient for the whole trade of these provinces.

In proceeding to the eastward along this coast, through the provinces of Venezuela and the Caraccas, we find a country equally fertile; yet, although they extend upwards of four hundred miles along shore, these provinces experienced very little attention from the mother country, so that for the last twenty years before the establishment of the Caraccas Company, no more than five ships had arrived in their ports direct from Spain.

Now indeed their exports have become considerable, both of cocoa and tobacco, and for some years have exceeded 300,000 dollars.

In Cumana, which forms a part of this district, there is also plenty of timber fit for ship-building: and D'Arriaga, the Spanish minister, when in power took some steps towards forming an establishment, which however never took place.

This whole district, from the Isthmus of Darien,

as far to the eastward as the Island of Trinidad, deserves particular notice in this place, not only from its immediate importance to the British West Indies, but from its being chosen as the scene of action by *Miranda* for his attempt at revolution.

With respect to the first object, it is worthy of remark, that our islands may at all times be supplied from the Spanish main with cattle sufficient for the consumption, and for agricultural purposes; these cattle are in general larger and fatter than those imported from the United States, and arrive in much better condition in consequence of the shortness of the passage. Mill-timber may always be had of good quality and at a moderate rate, so that there is no occasion for complaints about the deficiency of American supply in that article at least. The only species of necessary timber then, which the Spanish Colonies will not supply, is that of staves, and perhaps shingles, which of course may be had from our own northern colonies. It is also deserving of notice here, that independant of the Spanish main, Porto Rico can always supply us with excellent cattle, whilst those who chuse to cut their own wood, may load a thousand ships with the most useful timber at the Island of Baeque or Crab Island, off the south-east end of Porto Rico.

The commerce with the Spanish main was al-

so considerable during the period of the contraband trade, and has again risen to a great height since we got possession of Trinidad. It has been no uncommon thing during the latter part of last war, to see ten or a dozen Spanish launches laying off the pier at Puerto d'Espagna in that island; these vessels left the Spanish ports as coasters apparently carrying nothing but serons of tallow, in which however they had doubloons concealed, as well as in the lining of the boats. On arriving off the Bocas del Drago, they pushed in under Spanish colours, unmolested by his majesty's cruizers, who never interfered with them, except sometimes to send a boat for the purpose of purchasing fowls or fruit, which they generally brought, knowing that they would find a ready market in case of falling in with an English man of war. Their commercial transactions were soon finished; the *patron* of the launch called on a merchant, sold his cargo of tallow at the market price, perhaps from five to seven hundred dollars, bespoke a quantity of English goods, such as cottons, platillas, hardware, and haberdashery, looked at a few samples, and deposited his cash in hard gold to pay for them; and such bargains, to the amount of eight and twenty hundred pounds sterling, have been known to take place *in the course of half an hour.*

This traffic was not only carried on with the

small settlements on the western side of the Gulph of Paria, but also with the whole coast of Cumana and the Caraccas, on the one side, and with the river of Oronoque on the other, as vessels frequently arrived from Angustura the principal settlement on that river. With such a trade, in time of war with Spain, we may naturally conclude that our intercourse must be profitable indeed, in case of an amicable arrangement.

Having thus briefly noticed the state of commercial intercourse, a few observations from a practical knowledge of this part of the country, with reference to Miranda's plan, will not be irrelevant in the present disquisition. That Miranda was a native of Venezuela is pretty well understood; he left it however very early in life, which may account for his error in supposing his countrymen likely to join in any plan of revolution or rebellion. The Spaniard of these countries is brought up in indolence and ease, his greatest exertion is that of going to church or performing penance, for almost all others are performed for him by proxy.

When a family rises in the morning, they assemble in the hall which generally occupies the whole lower part of the house if in the country; if in town, it is on the first floor, as the ground story is merely used for warehouses: here are hammocks of gilt leather hung up around the

room, in which the family arrange themselves and here they swing for the whole day till night call, them again to repose, undisturbed except by receiving refreshments from their slaves, some of whom are constantly employed in fanning them, and brushing the flies off. Their food is light, viz fruit, bread, and chocolate, all raised within a few yards of their house, and prepared by their slaves; their dress is slight, and not very costly except upon gala and saints days, and thus they wear out existence without a wish beyond the limits of their own *estanzas*, except perhaps when their holy confessor turns their thoughts towards heaven. Were these men likely to leave their hammocks to stir about the world, for what must have appealed to them at least as speculative blessings? Certainly not,—it is therefore no matter of surprise that Miranda failed—the wonder would have been, if he had succeeded!

We now turn our view to the great provinces of Peru, Quito, and Chili, though Quito will first require our attention, as forming part of New Grenada.

The facilities of internal intercourse in this part of the continent, are certainly not as great as in the northern division, yet although there are no branches of the sea leading into its interior, the future inhabitants of these deserts will derive considerable advantages from the rivers

of La Plata, and of Amazons, by means of which and their tributary streams, every part of this vast continent may be said to have a ready communication with the ocean.

Little however has yet been done towards the improvement of this quarter, when the *numerical population* is considered ; we must indeed make allowances for the indolence and inactivity of disposition already mentioned, though we have no reason to despair of a speedy amelioration taking place. We have seen that Las Casas, in order to spare the Indians, first proposed the importation of negroes ; yet a later traveller asserts, that these Indians are in fact the only industrious part of the population, and that it is to the labour of these patient drudges we are indebted for all the bullion imported into the Old World ; and he roundly states, that no European, *nor even the negroes*, are robust enough to undergo the fatigue of working in the mines, nor to encounter the climate of these mountainous regions for the space of only one year !

Until the formation of the vice-royalty of New Grenada, little was known of the interior of the province of Quito, it is now stated to possess many singular advantages, both in climate and in produce. That district, called the Valley of Quito, is a table-land elevated 1460 fathoms, or about one mile and a half in perpendicular height.

above the level of the ocean, an elevation equal to that of the loftiest mountains of the eastern hemisphere. The description of this valley, by Lequanda and other modern writers, is indeed almost too romantic for implicit belief; it is stated that this charming valley, surrounded by a double range of mountains, possesses an eternal spring, though directly under the equinoctial, that the forests are clothed with perpetual verdure, bearing the bud, the blossom, mingled with the most luxuriant foliage, and with the most delicious fruits, and that it abounds with the Llama and Vicuna, whose wool forms the staple of the internal manufacture of stuffs, which are now become an important article of commerce with Peru. Great part of these delicious descriptions are drawn from the transactions of a literary society, existing for some years at Lima in Peru, and whom we may allow to romance a little, in gratitude for their establishment of a society, which though now in its dawn, may yet throw its meridian beams over this vast empire.

In addition to this woollen manufacture, we must also notice one of cottons, whose fabric is said to be as fine as that of Europe or India; it is still however worthy of remark, that these articles are not yet made in great quantities, and that the passion for foreign manufactures, still operates in giving European goods a preference in the market. The principal port of Quito,

Guayaquil, whose great advantage is its situation for ship-building, having good depth of water, an abundance of excellent timber in its vicinity, or at least handy for water carriage, and provisions cheap and plentiful. The timber of its forests consists of the balsam tree, cinnamon, and the pecheche, whose roots are peculiarly valuable, as affording a sufficiency of crooked timber for knees, transoms, and foot-hooks, &c.

It is also stated from undeniable proofs, that these different species of timber are alike remarkable for their duration, and for being always free from the worm.

These delicious vales of Quito produce another tree, whose virtues are peculiar, yet it is an article of importation, which our fair readers, if we are honoured with any, will perhaps object to. We allude to the *carrob* tree, whose fruit is actually given by the Indians to their wives, in order to check their loquacity ! which it does most effectually, for a time at least, by its astringent qualities.

The next province to the southward, is that of Peru, whose geographical formation is peculiar ; as all the immense rivers which have their rise in this district, pursue their course from the Andes to the Southern Atlantic Ocean, whilst Peru itself is merely watered by temporary streams which rush from the mountains like torrents, and are oftener prejudicial than assisting to cultivation. A considerable part of this province is sandy and

barren, and almost never refreshed by rain; but in the other parts, vegetation is more favourable, the fields are verdant, and bear all the species of corn both of Europe and America. The Andes also, which form its boundary in the rear, are capable of producing the fruits of all climates, as their summits are covered with eternal snow, and every gradation of temperature may be traced on their declivities.

Lint or flax is also found in Peru, but they are raised in much greater quantities to the southward in Chili, and the island of Chiloe, where the natives gather the seed for the purpose of making a kind of beer, leaving the plant itself to decay on the ground. .

In the *montana real*, or the elevated grounds bordering on Quito and the interior, a valuable discovery has lately been made of the cinnamon-tree, whose bark is esteemed more pungent than that of Ceylon, yet it is said to be of less value, from a glutinous and unpleasant juice which exudes from it, how far that may be corrected by cultivation, remains yet to be tried. In this district also, some valuable furs have been found, particularly the skin of an animal called the pinche, frequenting the banks of the river of Amazons. The fur of this animal is described as being of a purple colour, spotted and tipped with the most brilliant gold.

The town and port of Callao, having been des-

troyed by an earthquake, the commerce of Peru, which is now considerable, is carried on from and to the port of Bellavista; its intercourse extends to Truxillo and Paita in the north, and to Arica and Pisca in the south of Peru, to Valparaiso and Coquimbo in Chili, and to Guayaquil, Panama, and Acapulco in New Grenada and Mexico.

The trade to the northern ports of Peru, consists of wool, cotton, cordovan leather, rice, chocolate, and salted fish; to the southern ports, it is in wine, brandy, iron, copper, tin, lead, &c.

Wheat forms the staple article from Chili, also various salted provisions, soap, wine, copper, &c. the returns from Peru are European goods, such as cloths of home manufacture, rice, chocolate, &c. and the imports from the island of Chiloe, consist principally of lumber, hams, and saltfish.

In 1789, 1,000,000 sterling of Spanish goods, and 1,200,000 of foreign produce were imported into Peru, whilst its exports in the same year were 3,000,000 of bullion, and 3,500,000 of other produce.

Peru also yields considerable quantities of rock-salt, but its most important mines are those of gold and silver. In the ten years from 1780, to 1789 inclusive, these mines produced 12,000 marks of gold, and 3,800,000 marks of silver. Of its quicksilver mines we have already taken some notice, that of Guancavilca the only one of any importance, was formerly highly celebrated, but

it appears to be now nearly exhausted; however *Estalla* says that a rich mine of this mineral has been discovered in a hill called Chonta.

The annual coinage at Lima amounts to upwards of 5,000,000 of piastres.

We have had occasion to say so much of the produce and trade of Chili, under the head of Peru, that little more is necessary than to add that the commerce of Valparaiso is carried on in vessels from 250, to 700 tons burthen, in which the annual exports to Peru, amount to upwards of 15,000 tons of wheat and flour, of small cordage, dried saltfish, and apples, pears, and peaches in great quantities.

The principal future advantages however that may be expected from Chili, must be derived from its mines, not of gold and silver, but of *more useful* metals; indeed it may well be considered as the richest metallic region in the universe. Its lead is of the best quality, but has never yet been applied to any purpose, except as an assistant in the fusion of silver, and some trifling uses; it is generally found in the state of Galena.

Tin is also to be found in considerable quantities; it is of a most valuable kind, and from its abundance would amply repay any expences incurred in working it. Iron also may be found in all parts of Chili; the ore is peculiarly rich, but has not yet been worked, owing to the injudicious

monopoly of Old Spain, which has hitherto prevented the working of iron mines in the colonies.

In a country so rich in the valuable ores, it may be expected that other minerals and semi-metals will be found in abundance, which is indeed the case, for here are quicksilver, antimony, arsenic, cobalt, zinc, and bismuth; the quicksilver however, which is found in a virgin state, and in that of Cinnabar, has hitherto been neglected, in consequence of royal edicts, but it may be expected that the present state of affairs will prompt to more vigorous research; of all those semi-metals the only one wrought at present is that of antimony which is used in the fusion of the ores both of gold and silver.

Little was known of the mineralogy of the interior of these provinces, until the sending out of the German miners by the Court of Spain; from their observations it appears that the mountains between Chili and Paraguay are composed of primitive granite, in some places intermixed with argillaceous slate of various colours, but principally of a bluish cast. In some parts over the slate were found vast strata of limestone, and of ferruginous sandstone, together with coal, gypsum, and rock-salt; and the latter was often discovered pure and in a mass - on the highest ridges of the Andes.

It appears from these accounts, that if modern improvements in the science of metallurgy could

be introduced into these districts, an increased quantity of the *purified* metals might be obtained without any additional labour, for at present the mines, through ignorance, are only half wrought. Indeed Helm says, that at Potosi, upwards of 300 pits are in a state of working, but in such an irregular manner, that it seems rather done by a system of plunder than of regular industry. Many openings had been made which led to veins of very rich ore, but from the want of proper machinery, they were unable to keep the pits clear of water; and so great was the ignorance and obstinacy of the overseers of the smelting works, that by their rude mode of amalgamation, they were not able to extract above two-thirds of the silver from the ore, whilst at the same time the waste of quicksilver amounted to double the weight of silver produced. This accurate mineralogist then points out further disadvantages from their want of knowledge, and of the consequent improvement which may be expected from more skill in metallurgy; as one instance he observes, that every hundred weight of copper cost them £35 sterling, and occupied a month in roasting, whilst he produced the same quantity in four hours and a half, of a superior quality, and at one-twentieth of the expence. But 'twas not in this instance alone, for he describes all the operations of stamping, sifting, and of roasting all the ores as done in a manner so slovenly as scarcely

to be credible, he however points out every means of speedy improvement, and even asserts that as soon as the water in the pits can be got under, the mines will be in a more flourishing state than ever.

Such is the present state of Chili, a state which holds out most advantageous prospects from its future improvement; for its climate is one of the best in America, and cannot be exceeded by that of any other country. Being placed entirely in the temperate zone, it is never troubled with great heats, but is equally cooled by the mountain breezes from the Andes, and by the wind from the ocean; and its temperature is not only mild, but is also so equable, that the European Spaniards give it a preference over that of Granada and Andalusia in Old Spain. We have already seen that its vegetable productions of corn, wine, and oil, are abundant in the extreme; all the European fruits are here also in perfection, and the animals both of Europe and America are found in the greatest plenty. Its extent into the interior is not very great, nor is there yet any very frequent communication between it and Paraguay.

The distance between Buenos Ayres and St. Iago de Chili, has never yet been actually measured; there is a road however along which the post travels in twenty days, through a country, which from Buenos Ayres to the Cordilleras, is nothing but a vast desert, without trees, or any

species of vegetation, forming a plain so completely level, that there is not even a single hillock to be seen on its surface.

We have been thus diffuse on this Southern Province, on account of its very promising qualities, which may soon raise it to that importance amongst these western colonies, which it well deserves from its variety of natural advantages. It is even now in a great measure the granary of Peru, and the other provinces whose shores are washed by the Great South Sea, and under good management it might be made the grand depot for wine, and cattle also, as well as for mules and horses, which would increase rapidly, if the smallest attention was paid to them.

On the eastern side of this vast continent, is the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, or La Plata, of which so much has been said lately, that it will be unnecessary here to notice it further than a few slight remarks.

Its produce is sugar, indigo, pimento, cotton, tobacco, cochinchal, and some drugs, such as Peruvian bark and ipecacuanha, &c. it also raises corn, rice, maize, and some hemp and flax, the culture of which might be considerably extended; to this may also be added the Paraguay tea, which is in great demand throughout South America, and is universally esteemed as a corroborant and anti-septic.

In the Pampas or plains between Rio de la Plata and Patagonia, immense herds of cattle, produced by those brought from Europe by the original settlers, roam about at large, "and own no master's stall;" and the inhabitants have been thereby enabled to open an extensive trade in hides and tallow, and might soon be induced to cure a sufficient quantity of salted provisions for the West India market. In the northern part also of the chain of the Andes, are numberless flocks of the Vicunas or Peruvian sheep, some small portions of whose wool have been imported into England; and we believe that it is considered by the manufacturers, as of the first quality, possessing all the warmth of the fleecy hosiery, with the softness and gloss of the finest silk; its natural colour also, resembling the fawn, is of that superior beauty, as to require no dying in many articles where it might be used.

These considerations alone, are sufficient to give importance to this colony; it had however other advantages in its convenient situation for carrying on a contraband trade, which was indeed the principal source of its prosperity. This trade however has declined, or rather indeed has totally failed since the opening of the Spanish ports by royal edict; the regular commerce however is considerable, particularly with Rio Janeiro, with which place they have long carried on an intercourse beneficial to both provinces.

The exports from Brazil to the La Plata have principally been sugar, tobacco, wine, brandy, rum, and European goods; but our own mercantile transactions with that colony are of a date sufficiently recent to preclude the necessity of further elucidation.

To the southward of Chili and Paraguay is the extensive country of Patagonia; a country where no settlement has ever yet been attempted, except in one instance; in the sixteenth century, the Spaniards planted a small colony in a bay on the north shore of the Straights of Magellan, but the scurvy having made great ravages amongst the settlers, the few survivors, with the exception of one man afterwards picked up by an English cruiser, left the place in a boat, but were never afterwards heard of, and the bay has ever since retained the name of Port Famine. The eastern side of this territory is remarkable in being entirely destitute of timber, although all the lands north of the La Plata are covered with wood; yet, though bare of trees, it abounds in pasture; the soil in general consists of light, dry, gravelly downs, producing great quantities of long coarse grass, which affords food to numerous herds of wild cattle, and also, as it is said, to many flocks of the Vicuna sheep. This coast had for a long time been considered as deficient in fresh water, the ponds as well as streams being generally brackish, arising from the nitrous and saline nature of the soil, par-

ticularly in the neighbourhood of Port St. Julian ; Byron however, who anchored in Port Desire, was fortunate enough to find fresh water, and he says that this difficulty being now removed, the port will be found very convenient, as the country around it abounds with guanicos, a species of black cattle, together with a great variety of wild fowl, particularly ducks, geese, widgeon, and sea-pies, and it has such plenty of excellent mussels, that a boat might be loaded with them every time of low water, with great ease ; wood indeed was scarce, but on many parts of the coast there were large tracts of bushes which might serve the purpose of fuel. The western coast is of less extent, as the Andes reach nearly down to the beach, and the whole shore from Chiloe to the entrance of the Straights is rocky and dangerous. But 'tis the coast of the Straights that is most deserving of notice ; on the Terra del Fuego side, indeed, we meet with nothing but barren rocks covered with perpetual snow ; on the northern shore however there is in many places a fine level country, with a soil that is to all appearance extremely rich, for the ground, in the middle of summer, was covered with flowers of various kinds that perfumed the air with their fragrance, and among them were wild berries innumerable, whilst the grass was good and intermixed with a great quantity of peas in blossom. Such is the description of it given by Byron who also ob-

serves that in Sedger river in Port Famine, there were some of the finest trees he ever saw, and he had no doubt, but that they would supply the British navy with the finest masts in the world. Some of them were very lofty, and from twenty to twenty-five feet in circumference; and amongst a variety of species, was the *cortex winteranus* in great plenty; in short, he adds, were it not for the severe winters, this country by cultivation might be made one of the finest in the world. Wallis, who also visited this coast, gives us however a description of it by no means so flattering, he says, whilst speaking of Sedger river, that the country about this place has the most dreary and forlorn appearance that can be imagined; that the mountains on both sides of the Magellanic Streight are of an immense height, whilst about one fourth of their ascent is covered with trees of a considerable size; in the space from thence half way up the mountain there is nothing but withered shrubs, above them patches of snow, and fragments of broken rock, and their summits are altogether rude and naked, towering above the clouds in vast crags piled upon one another, and which seem to be the ruins of nature devoted to everlasting sterility and desolation. From this description, it is not likely that any Spanish colonial settlement will speedily be formed here, nor does it indeed present any very tempting prospects to British enterprise, yet its timber for masts may be

deserving of attention, particularly as that of our America in colonies, which may be converted into masts, is by no means so tough or so light as that of the north of Europe.

Off the coast of Patagonia, are the Falkland islands, on the eastern part of which, where the French once attempted a settlement, called by them Acaron Bay, but now Puerto Solidad, the Spaniards have established a depot for their colonial convicts. It is needless to go at large into the history of these islands, yet we may observe, that if priority of discovery gives a right to possession, Great Britain certainly is the true possessor of them; and indeed during the negotiations respecting them previous to the American war, the Court of Spain founded their claim principally on their being within the limits of their American seas, and not on right of discovery.

In 1592, Captain Davis, who accompanied Cavendish, was driven on their coasts by stress of weather, and was undoubtedly their discoverer; but his distress, and the tempestuous season of the year, prevented him from making any particular observations on them. A few years after they were again seen by Sir Richard Hawkins, who, in honour both of himself, and of Queen Elizabeth, called them Hawkins's Maiden Land. In 1748, a project was set on foot by our ministry for their settlement, but this, in consequence of the Spanish remonstrances, did not take place till

1766, shortly after which the Spaniards by force took possession of our settlement in Port Egmont. This proceeding was afterwards disavowed, and the settlement restored to us, soon after which we evacuated it entirely. In Port Igmont, there is fresh water in great plenty, with geese, ducks, snipes, and other birds so numerous that they may be knocked down with sticks, but wood is totally wanting, except a little that is found adrift along the shore, which evidently comes from the Straights of Magellan. Byron, when here in 1765, took possession of them in the name of Great Britain, and he says, that amongst other refreshments which are in the highest degree salutary to those who have contracted scorbutic disorders during a long voyage, here are wild celery, and wood sorrel in the greatest abundance, nor is there any want of muscles, clams, cockles and limpets, whilst seals and penguins are innumerable. These advantages had made them of late much visited by our South-Sea whalers, particularly for the killing of seals. Portlock and Dixon, on their voyage to the Fur Coast, stopped here for some time, and their journals afford us the latest accounts. From these we learn, that they found the ruins of the settlement in Port Egmont, with the remains of several vegetables, such as horse radish, shallots, potatoes and celery, and also a bull, a cow, and several hogs, but all so wild as not to be caught. Their visit to Port Igmont

took place in 1786, and they very naturally supposed that these animals must have been left there at the evacuation of the settlement, they also found here plenty of seals and sea-lions, with the different kinds of fowl mentioned by Byron. Of the soil, they speak of it, as of a light fine nature, seemingly well calculated for meadow or pasture ground; but in many places, it is stated, that it is no easy matter to tell what is the nature of the original superficial strata, for in consequence of the annual vegetation having grown and rotted, and grown again, an immense number of hillocks are formed, on the tops of which large tufts of a broad leaved grass, which, inclining towards each other, form a shelter for great numbers of seals, penguins, &c.

Of the mineralogical properties of these islands, we have some slight sketches in Penruett's Account of the Formation of the French Settlement on the Easternmost at Action Bay. He says that, after an attentive examination of the soil on the shores of this bay, and in its environs, he could venture to pronounce that it was not deficient in minerals, and that evident proofs of the accuracy of this opinion will be found in the ochreous earths, both red and yellow, the spurs, and the quartz, which are in great abundance; and he further observes that the rocks, which are commonly covered with grey and reddish slate, sufficiently indicate a great quantity of

sulphur, whilst on breaking the tops of those rocks of quartz which appear on the surface, he found in their crevices "undoubted marks of a vitriolic and coppery matrix."

Such are the capabilities of these neglected islands, which, although no longer valuable to us for purposes of warfare, or of aggrandizement, are yet not unworthy of notice with respect to our commercial policy; and there can be no doubt whatever that it would be much better for this country to re-occupy them, even at an annual expence, than to permit them to become a shelter for French privateers, which will undoubtedly be the case, if an intercourse is established between Great Britain and the South Seas.

In this general view of the Spanish Colonies, the last that present themselves to our notice are the Canary islands, which, in spite of French influence, have yet preserved their allegiance to the mother country. Little more indeed can be said about them, than what is generally known, their produce consists of olives, wine, sugar, silk, wheat, barley, and oats, and their forests are filled with cypresses, laurels, pines, and the tree producing the dragon's blood. The population amounts to 140,000, of which 64,000 are in Teneriffe alone.

That our commerce with them might be much more extensive than it ever has been, is evident;

but our attention must be principally directed to preserve them from the gripe of France, who, in her search after colonies, would in these find great facilities for the annoyance of our South American and West Indian trade. Should they still prefer independence to *French citizenship*, it is to Britain they must look for protection; whilst we shall possess the double advantage of a commercial intercourse, and of preventing them from being a nest for French cruizers. Some financial regulations might serve as a bonus to our importers, and thus diminish not only the importation, but also the consumption of the wines of France, whilst the quantity of good and of low priced wines that might be imported from Teneriffe, Madeira, and the Azores, would soon make us amends for the loss of even Spain and Portugal. To *professed port drinkers* this may appear *impossible*, but *they* may recollect that the occupation of Portugal by the French troops, will not affect our home manufacture of the genuine article.

We have thus taken a general view of the advantages which England may derive from a more extended intercourse with the different Colonies of the Spanish Empire. It will now be proper, in order more judiciously to investigate her future

policy, that we should consider how far this commerce, joined to that of her own North American Colonies, can make her amends for the loss of European traffic, and for the interdiction of her commercial relations with the United States.

A glance at the chart of the Atlantic Ocean will point out Nova Scotia as the first to be examined ; and we must here observe, that it possesses many advantages, which, until lately, seem scarcely to have been thought of.

It is undoubtedly, at present, the most convenient, in point of situation, of any part of the Northern Continent for our purposes, particularly in case of a maritime war with the States, from the facilities it affords of wooding, watering, and of victualling our squadrons, either for the American coast, or the West India station ; and even for a commercial intercourse with our West India islands, it possesses considerable advantages over the more Southern States ; for the run, being entirely on a meridian, can be performed almost with any wind, whilst vessels from the ports of the States are obliged to make a considerable easting, in order to take advantage of the regular trade winds ; a circumstance which more than counterbalances the difference of relative distance in a right line.

The geographical situation of Nova Scotia, indeed, gives it many and great advantages as a

colony of Great Britain; particularly in its comparative vicinity to Europe, from whence a run has often been made in fifteen days; besides that, lying to the north-east of all the States, and being in a great measure detached from the continent, so as to be almost entirely surrounded by the ocean, it possesses all the advantages of an island; and, by means of its numerous harbours, of which it has a greater number than the same extent of sea coast in any part of the world, has a ready intercourse in all parts for the shipment of its produce.

Its woods contain all the species of timber for which we have so long been indebted to the neighbouring States, with the exception of the white oak, which can indeed be obtained, but grows at such a distance from water-carriage, as to make it nearly useless at present as an article of commerce; a circumstance certainly of importance, as it is the most valuable produce of the American forests, and has long been an article of the first demand in the West Indies.

Notwithstanding much of this country has been cleared since the close of the American war, yet the forests of pine trees may be calculated to occupy three fourths of all the lands in the province; and these forests are now peculiarly valuable, as they furnish not only lumber for the West Indies, and timber for building, fit for the home market, but also masts and spars,

with tar, pitch, and turpentine, for all the purposes of ship-building. All these articles are the produce of one species of timber; and, as little more cost is necessary for procuring them, than the labour and freight, there can be no doubt that both the home and colonial consumption might be supplied from Nova Scotia alone, particularly if government would adopt such measures as would operate not only as a stimulus, but also as a bounty: this is the more deserving of attention, as our importation of these articles, from our own colonies, would give freights to that species of British shipping now thrown out of employ, in consequence of our importations from the north of Europe being made in neutral bottoms. These circumstances are deserving the attention, not of government alone, but also of our mercantile men, who, in addition to the patriotic satisfaction of benefiting their country by extending this commerce, would derive a greater profit from it than they possibly can from an intercourse with the continent by means of neutrals, particularly in the present state of the exchange, which operates to such an extent as to be more than equivalent to any probable profits. So much has already been said on the cessation of importations from the United States, that it seems almost unnecessary to prove how little consistent it is with good policy to be dependent on them for articles of produce, which, with proper encou-

rageinent, and that at small expence, might be drawn from our own colonies; it is true, indeed, that the quantity now to be procured, may not be fully equal to the demand, but that is not so much from a deficiency of the article, as from a deficiency of labour to prepare it for the market; and it certainly deserves attention from government, when we recollect that the convicts now idling their time away on board the hulks, might be usefully employed in cutting down timber in the woods of Nova Scotia. An undertaking of this kind would not only increase the quantity for the market, but also diminish its price; for at present the greatest part of the population of Nova Scotia consists of loyal refugees from the States, whose wants and necessities prevent them from attending to the cutting down trees, any further than may be necessary for clearing away the ground for their own agricultural exertions, whilst any individuals not engaged in farming are fully occupied by the fishery.

Some encouragements held out to the farmers might also be attended with good effects in prompting them to raise hemp and flax, two articles of primary necessity, and which are peculiarly adapted to the soil and climate of these northern regions; maize, or Indian corn, might also be raised in sufficient quantities for the West Indian market, although, being a native of

a warmer climate, it does not grow so luxuriantly as in the United States. The short summers operate in some measure against its ripening; but when allowed to stand on the ground until the frost sets in, it acquires a sufficient degree of hardness to render it fit for cutting, and if properly encouraged, would always be a lucrative crop, as it yields from seven hundred to a thousand fold. Pearl and pot ashes might also be manufactured here in large quantities, if there was a sufficiency of working hands; they are at this time indeed made by almost every inhabitant, though not in sufficient quantities for exportation: in short, the situation of this province, taken in every point of view, makes it highly advantageous to Great Britain, particularly from the facility with which in conjunction with Canada it might supply the whole demand of our West India settlements with lumber, flour, live stock, salt fish, salt provisions, &c. at much cheaper rates than even the United States could supply them at, if they would; because our light ship, bound to the West Indies might be ordered to call at Halifax, Annapolis, and the other ports, and carry out general assortments of the different articles, if the schooners, and other craft of Nova Scotia were not sufficient for the purpose, a change from their usual route, which would seldom lengthen

their voyages above a fortnight or three weeks, whilst the profit on this intermediate cargo would pay all the extra expence.

The geographical situation of Canada, as well as its facility of supply, renders it also an object worthy of investigation in this inquiry. As its lands are in general well adapted for the raising of wheat, barley, oats, rice, peas and beans, and Indian corn, so the colonists have long been in habits of cultivation, and at this moment they are able to export from Canada alone, a sufficient quantity of flour and of grain for the consumption of all our West India settlements. Both Upper and Lower Canada raise great quantities of corn, and are equal in fertility to any part of the United States, indeed many have asserted that Upper Canada is much superior to any of the neighbouring provinces; and it is further worthy of remark, that Upper Canada is the only channel through which the State of Vermont can have any communication with the sea, and consequently with Europe, except by land-carriage: so that in case of a war with England, or a continuation of the President's embargo, the conquest of Canada, or a separation from the union, may respectively become favourite objects with the citizens of Vermont.

The system which America is now pursuing of extending her territory westward to the Northern Pacific Ocean, and thereby acquiring a

command of the fur-trade, not only in her own dependencies north of Louisiana, but also within the limits of those countries, on which we have a territorial claim, will be our apology for a short reference to the boundary line, and the country around the lakes. Though the advocates for American independence boasted that the revolution in that country was entirely founded on the true philosophical principles of personal liberty and security, without any reference to future aggrandisement; yet it has since become evident that the passion for extensive territorial dominion, which has so often produced important effects in the Old World has not been deficient in its influence on the minds of the republican legislators of Columbia. Its first symptoms appeared in the demands which they made, and which were granted to them by the provisional treaty, of the whole of that extensive country, which forms the southern boundary of Canada to the westward, and includes within its limits Champlain and lake George, and stretches along the inner lakes by Niagara and lake Erie as far as lake Superior. This avidity to acquire a territory which the States had never before occupied, though we must confess that it was within the limits of the original charters, had evidently several objects; but its most ostensible one at the time was to secure an ample field for the future enterprizes of an increasing popula-

tions. By examining the map of those districts however, we see that they have hereby secured the whole course of the Mississippi and Illinois within their own limits, and may interfere materially with the fur-trade, as carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company, and by the traders from Montreal and other parts of Canada. It has been argued that the charters to the original settlers had no specific bounds to the westward, and therefore that the confirmation of the other limits, as granted by these charters, was a tacit renunciation on our parts of all claims to the westward of the United States; but it ought to be recollect'd, that if we could give no grant of *undiscovered lands*, so neither can we be supposed *tacitly* to have precluded ourselves from a claim to lands which we have since been at the trouble and expence of discovering and surveying: this part of the subject is not however at present deserving of further notice, any claims on the part of America, founded on a supposed *tacit renunciation* of our own claims, may always be answered by a reference to the existing Treaties and the Nootka Sound Convention, which prove that the whole of the coast of the Pacific, west of the States, must be the sole property either of England or of Spain.

To return then to our subject; it may be observed, that beyond Montreal, the interior of Canada is but thinly inhabited, and that the set-

lements become still more sparingly scattered as we proceed towards the lakes. These countries are however possessed both of a soil and a climate equal to those of the best provinces towards the coast, and prove themselves fully equal in every respect. The level of these lands is considerably above that of the ocean, and the lakes themselves also possess a considerable elevation which is proved by the many and rapid falls in the river on both sides of the continent. This fact has been considered as accounting in some measure for the great severity of the winter; it is likely, however, that it is rather owing to the general humidity of the soil, and the extensive forests, together with other causes not exactly ascertained. Some writers have asserted, that the medium of cold in the northern countries is annually decreasing, it is difficult however to reconcile this opinion with a fact ascertained by Mr Hearne and some later travellers in those countries, who all agree that vegetation has extended some distance farther north than it does at the present day, there being many roots and trunks of trees forming a belt of twenty miles in breadth on the northern limits of the woods.

In several parts of the country are found salt-water creeks, which can now be only accounted for, by supposing them impregnated by mines of rock-salt, some of which have been discover-

ed, and promise to form a never-failing source of supply to the country if it was inhabited, and might even become an article of trade with the American back settlers.

If a settlement should be formed by Great Britain on the north-west coast, a speedy communication might soon be established with Canada and the river St. Lawrence by means of these lakes, some of which are of considerable extent, particularly the lake Superior; this Mediterranean fresh-water sea, is 350 miles in length from east to west, and 160 in breadth; it is seldom visited however, except by the different tribes of Indian hunters, though sometimes the traders from the most inland stations proceed there to meet the natives, and secure the furs for their own market. There are some circumstances however, which will operate against settlements being formed in the interior of this tract. M'Keuzie, whose journey across this country will immortalize his name, and place him high on the list of skilful and persevering investigators of geography, speaking of the lands between the lakes and the western coast, informs us, that the proportion of it that is fit for cultivation is very small, and still less so farther in the interior; he describes it also as difficult of access, and therefore very rationally concludes, that whilst any land remains uncultivated to the southward, no attempts

will be made to settle here. Mr. ~~Mc~~Kenzie found coal and bitumen on the banks of the river called by his name, and in many places observed thin concretions of salt on the grass, like those of the salt meadows on the banks of the Ohio and Mississipi. We cannot close this part of the subject more appropriately than by an extract from this very judicious writer. "The non-existence of a practicable passage by sea, and the existence of one through the continent, are clearly proved; and it requires only the countenance and support of the British government, to increase in a very ample proportion this national advantage, and secure the trade of that country to its subjects"

Before we dismiss this subject of the interior commerce of the North American Continent, and of the frontiers of the United States, our attention is called to a more particular view of the question by the last advices from that country, as expressed in The Times of the 25th February

"But the most important fact is that the government of the United States had sent a military force to New Orleans, with the view, as it is supposed, of preventing the British from trading in the Mississipi."—

It has already been urged, that although the boundaries of latitude for each State were exactly defined in the original charters, yet the western limits of each were not so expressly spe-

cified, so that some of the citizens of the American Republic have attempted on this to found a right to *all* lands to the westward: this claim however falls to the ground when we refer to the treaty concluded between England and America at the close of the revolutionary war, and guaranteed by Spain, as well as by France.

— In the second article of the preliminary treaty, (afterwards confirmed in the definitive,) having described the northern boundary, running through the centre of the lakes Ontario, Huron, and Superior, it proceeds, “Thence through the middle of said long lake, and the water communication between it and the lake of the woods,” (thus crossing to the northward of the original line as established in the New England Charter, 1620), “to the said lake of the woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude.” Here then is an end to all claims to western territory, beyond the Mississippi, which is the boundary throughout the whole western frontier, extending from about $49^{\circ} 30'$ N. to $31^{\circ} 00'$ N. as the whole of the country to the westward of this line was already claimed by England and Spain. Within the limits of this line, there were ex-

tensive tracts of land, which had been claimed by England, and which, or the claim, were now granted to the States, but these lands were still inhabited by many Indian nations, who naturally concluding that they had the best right to them, were unwilling at first to admit of settlers amongst them: these difficulties within the limits have now been got over, by purchase and by treaty, and the Americans therefore have here no reason to fear either claimant or competitor.

The eighth article of the treaty stipulates. "The navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States." It is remarkable that this article, whose meaning extends beyond what America and England could conceive. (part of the Mississippi *on both banks* being still in possession of Spain) should not have been noticed in the separate treaty between Spain and England; yet, as Spain guaranteed the treaty, she must be understood as consenting to it *in toto*, otherwise her guarantee would have been a mere illusion. This article therefore could not be broken either by America or Spain, in any case whatever, without the consent of England, as such a proceeding must have been a direct infringement of a specific and positive agreement. Thus far have we traced the

western frontier; to the south it was stipulated that a line drawn from the Mississippi in the latitude of $31^{\circ} 00' N.$ and continued to the eastward, with some slight variation from that parallel, as we have already noticed respecting Mr. Ellicot's memoir, should be the boundary of Georgia. With respect to the Floridas, the third article of the treaty between England and Spain, says, " His Britannic Majesty shall cede to his Catholic Majesty East Florida; and his Catholic Majesty shall keep West Florida, provided that the term of eighteen months shall be granted to British subjects, &c. &c. &c." In this article there is no mention of the Mississippi, but it is evident that there is nothing to contradict the tacit agreement of Spain by her guarantee of the States treaty.

In consequence of this cession, most of the planters left the country; some went to the Bahamas, Bermudas, and the West Indies, others to Canada and Nova Scotia; yet, although we gave up the territorial possession of the Floridas, it is evident that our commercial intercourse did not cease, for in the tour of a late French traveller it is observed that, " It must be matter of surprise to find that the whole of West Florida, which belongs to Spain, is supplied with European goods from England." He goes on further to state, that the Spanish Crown had granted to two English houses, the exclusive

privilege of supplying the inhabitants of the country, as well as the Indians with European commodities; and then relates as a fact still more recent, that the governor of New Orleans had given the English the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians along the left, or western bank of the Mississippi. This trade, however, was not carried on entirely by entering the Mississippi from the Gulph of Mexico; for even, according to the statements of Monsieur Rochefoucault, the traveller alluded to, it appears that England, in 1796, had the whole of the peltry trade both of that river and the Missouri. This traffic was principally carried on by the Canadian people, who, not then having ventured to infringe on the chartered limits of the Hudson's Bay Company, made frequent excursions into the south-western lands, and were in general preferred to the Georgian traders; indeed Monsieur R. says, at that time, in consequence of the exclusive grant, that the Spanish settlements in the Illinois got all their European goods from Montreal. He then strongly recommends that Spain, as a protection for her American colonies, and to save Louisiana from the English, should give that settlement to France, for "In fact England partly possesses it already, there being several English garrisons stationed upon the Spanish territories along the Mississippi; and the numerous inha-

bitants of the Indian territory throughout this immense district, so rich in skins, are unacquainted with any but English traders." These "English garrisons" were nothing but the trading settlements of the Canadians, which according to their custom are called forts, though they do not mount a single gun, and at times have not above one or two white men in them. The whole passage however, shews not only a strong jealousy of the English, but also the advantages which we derive from this trade, a trade, which if the latest intelligence be correct, the Americans intend to stop in opposition to the most solemn treaties.

In 1795, a treaty took place between Spain and the United States; the second article confirms the southern boundary line, as established by the treaty of England and America; but the fourth article is most deserving of notice in this place. "It is likewise agreed t. at the western boundary of the United States, which separates them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi from the northern boundary of the said States, to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude, north of the equator; and his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed, that the navigation of the said river, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United

States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by a special convention."

This is certainly a most extraordinary article, when we consider that England was not a party in the treaty; and, as it must evidently have been inserted by the express desire of the American government, is in itself a convincing proof of their intention to exclude England from a share in the traffic of the interior. It did not answer their purpose, however, for it was after the signing of this treaty that Spain granted such privileges to the British traders.

It may appear strange to our readers, that the American government could have stipulated for the insertion of such an article in direct opposition to their own definitive treaty with England, in 1783; but it will appear infinitely more so, when we remind them, that in a new treaty entered into with Great Britain, in 1795, and cotemporary with this new Spanish treaty, the third article expressly stipulates that it shall be allowed, "To his Majesty's subjects and the citizens of the United States, and to the Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line, freely to pass and repass by land or inland navigation into the respective territories of the two parties, Hudson's Bay excepted;" and it further states that the navigation of the Mississippi is to be entirely free!! So much then, for American candour, and diplo-

matic honesty? That the United States, in investigating this subject, have acknowledged right to deprive us of the navigation of the Mississippi, is we think self-evident. Americans and their advocates will say, "Spain's dominion over Louisiana is now dust, and therefore the navigation belongs to us," — how far this can be supported, we shall examine in other words. When Spain ceded Louisiana to France, she ceded it with all those claims and rights which she had allowed to Great Britain, for she could not do otherwise without our consent; and though France might say to us, that she would refuse us those rights yet America must have known that, as a friendly nation, she could not purchase from France those rights which we had not yielded up, nor those claims which we had not ceded; when therefore America purchased Louisiana from France she purchased it with all her claimments between herself and Great Britain in America, as well as with those, to which Spain had tacitly agreed by her guarantee of the first treaty after the revolutionary war.

If this reasoning is disputed, all political logic must fall to the ground, for it cannot be supposed that American consequence is to supersede claims of common sense, and common justice. Should America therefore attempt to establish such a system of exclusion, it seems to us that the first step beyond the slipping of her

English shipping. Her ports were exclusively her own, but the navigation of the Mississippi was to be free to both nations, therefore English boats traversing that river are not within the limits of her territory; should their crews indeed attempt to land on either side, she may put her decrees in force, if she is able to catch them, but any stoppage of the navigation must be an hostile act, and a virtual declaration of war. It must not be allowed, as an objection to our navigating the river, that it *only* leads into the American territories; because, all the lands which we claimed on the west of the Mississippi, and which lay north of Louisiana, are still *ours*, notwithstanding that the States have acquired such extensive tracts on the left bank of that river, and we have moreover a plain and palpable right to avail ourselves of it, for the purpose of trading with the Indians who live *out of* those boundaries to which America can make any just claim.

It may perhaps be objected to us, by the advocates of America, that we have assumed as a certain position, the hostile disposition of the States towards this country; if such a charge is just, we will reply that our opinion is not founded on slight grounds. That the greatest part of the old population of the States should be mortal to us, is extremely natural after a civil war of eight years; and as the present generation were young at that period, they would as naturally imbibe

those hostile sentiments from their parents. That this is the case, we believe will not be contradicted, but it is worthy of remark, that although, after the close of the war, the men were inveterate against this country, yet the ladies, particularly, in Virginia and North Carolina were not so violent; but, if speaking of any of their countrymen having gone to England, were often in the habit of saying that they were *gone home*. and the writer of these sheets has more than once, heard ladies in the higher circles, severely and stately reprimanded by their male relations, for using that expression. It is also pertinent to our justification to consider that a very numerous population has been added to the States since the general peace; these are of three classes, agriculturists, traders, and *politicians*. The first class were principally the working labourers of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, with some of the small farmers of these respective countries, and perhaps a few speculative farmers from England; the majority of these could not be very fond of Great Britain, when they left it, and being in general ignorant, were the more likely to imbibe transatlantic prejudices. The second class, on their settling in America, would from the mere spirit of trade feel prejudices against the mother country, for checking them, as *American citizens*, in those pursuits which they might have followed as *British Subjects*, and this without any previous dislike to their native land. As for the third

class, it is difficult to specify them; they may indeed rather be considered as forming not an inconsiderable portion of the other two; so far then we have accounted for our opinion that there is a general hostile feeling in the American sentiments towards Great Britain; a position also which we could justify from many circumstances of actual observation, if it was not beyond our limits.

There has been for a long time, in this country a sympathy of feeling, or an affectation of candour towards the Americans; and it might have been expected that this feeling would have been taken advantage of by their advocates in the early part of the present dispute; in this however they met with a most powerful opponent, in a certain weekly writer.

Of the general sentiments of this writer, we certainly feel a most decided aversion; yet we should have been among the first to have voted a civic crown to Mr. Cobbett, if he had never written upon any other subject than the

country liked to write on that question, there is no one perhaps has such an accurate and intimate knowledge of the subject as Mr. Cobbett, and most certainly there is no other writer, so well qualified as he, to attack the Americans in their own way. It must also be allowed that Mr. C.'s mode of argument is peculiarly calculated to convince that class of the community, which

might have been most easily led astray, by a crying detraction of the poor harmless Americans, our brethren, and we must confess that we sincerely believe that the general indifference towards America in this dispute, may in a great measure be attributed to the political registers of 1807 and 1808; at the same time we wish to be understood as not agreeing with him in toto, particularly with regard to the little value of American commerce to this country. Yet although that commerce was valuable, it has been sufficiently shown in the earlier pages of this little work, that we have ample resources in the consumption of our manufactures in the Spanish Colonies, even if America should so far forget her own interest, as well as ours, as to preserve her system of embargo and non-importation.

We are now coming to the concluding part of this disquisition, in which we intended to take a slight sketch of the future of Great Britain; yet before we go into the subject, it may be proper to notice a recent publication which has touched upon part of this question; we allude to the twenty-sixth number of the Edinburgh Review, where there is an article expressly on the "Emancipation of South America," and which has appeared whilst this work was in the press. It will

soon appear that we approve of great part of their general principles as there laid down, though we must confess that we have not such sanguine ideas either of the practicability of a communication by water between the two oceans, or of its extreme utility if practicable, as it could never be made navigable for vessels of any burthen; nor can we agree with them that South America suffered so much from "a bad government," when it has been clearly prov'd that a great proportion of the evils arose from the disposition of the people, and the nature of circumstances which could only be controlled by a powerful stimulus operating on their minds. "That the cause of these evils being removed, the effect will cease to follow," we have already remarked, but that any sudden change is to be produced by a *revolutionary* spirit, we are certainly disposed to admit, upon the whole however, we must acknowledge that this article possesses much political *acumen*, and judicious information. To recur however to our own policy, it is needless to prove the absolute necessity of supporting the independence of Old Spain, whilst every true British heart feels the force of that sentiment; in this stage of our examination we shall therefore take our stand on that part of the speech at the opening of the parliamentary session, where it says, "We are commanded to inform you that His Majesty continues to receive from the Spani-

Government the strongest assurances of their determined perseverance in the cause of the legitimate monarchy, and of the national independence of Spain ; and to assure you that so long as the people of Spain shall remain true to themselves, his Majesty will continue to them, his most strenuous assistance and support."

The independence of Old Spain, and a free intercourse with her colonies will certainly tend not only to the interest of Great Britain, but also to the welfare of the whole human race ; to such an intercourse, which the grateful policy of Spain, it is to be expected will readily grant, will Spanish America be indebted for her future cultivated plains, her industrious villages, her splendid cities, crowded ports, extended literature, and all the blessings of well regulated liberty. To preserve and protect this independence, is then our most important object, and is a point conceded by all parties, though they may differ about the means. With respect to past measures, we need only observe that it is totally impossible for Great Britain to meet France upon the continent with troops sufficient in number to cope alone with her overwhelming force; not that we are really deficient in numbers, but from the difficulties of landing and subsisting a very numerous army with all its appointments. It may be asked, "How do the French subsist their armies?" to this we can only answer, than an English army lands to protect, not

to plunder, therefore they cannot use those means of foraging for a supply, which a French army always has recourse to. All that we can do therefore is to land such a force in Spain, as may co-operate with a powerful body of the natives ; if we have hitherto been disappointed, it appears to have been owing to uncontrollable causes, and most certainly not either to the coolness of patriotism in Spain, to any want of energy and skill in our troops, nor to any deficiency of exertion in our own government. This part of the subject will however be so amply discussed in parliament, that we shall now proceed to a consideration of the means which Spain possesses for future exertion. Her population amounts to eleven millions, or about seventy-four to a square mile, whilst that of England is about one hundred and sixty-nine, and of France, about one hundred and seventy-four in the same space ; of this population in 1787, there were three millions of unmarried males, two millions married, and near three hundred thousand widowers ; of these there were two millions peasantry and day labourers, three hundred thousand artisans and manufacturers, two hundred and eighty thousand men servants, and four hundred and eighty thousand gentlemen and nobles, of which latter class there were four hundred thousand in Leon, Asturias, Gallicia, and Biscay alone. Her military in peace seldom exceed sixty thousand ; but from this statement we see

that by enrolling only one-tenth of her male population, she might embody a force of half a million : such are the means which Spain possesses for future resistance.

Here then our policy is short and simple ; to aid, but not to direct, her operations at home, both civil and military, and to protect her colonies against the intrusion of French troops, which Bonaparte will undoubtedly endeavour to send in support of the emissaries who have already been very active in all the settlements. Should she, however, be unable to resist the tyranny of France, our objects most certainly will then be to provide for the security of the Cadiz and Cartagena squadrons, to destroy that in Ferrol, and to give all the assistance in our power to all classes who will prefer expatriation to slavery. Some of her brave troops will garrison Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica ; and we might with great facility embark a sufficient number of them to defend Sicily against any attempts of King Joachim : in Europe, this is all we can do ; in Africa we must protect them in the occupation of Ceuta, unless it should be better policy to restore it to the Emperor of Morocco ; at all events, it must be kept out of the hands of France.

With respect to her colonies, in such a case, the influence may perhaps be greater, the colonists have now certainly a stimulus to indepen-

dence, though not to *revolt*, for there is amongst them a spirit of loyalty ; yet they have more than once justified that remark of Adam Smith, "That even the violent and arbitrary government of Spain has, upon many occasions, been obliged to recall or soften the orders which had been given for the government of her colonies, for fear of a general insurrection." Should they, in any case, declare themselves independent, the great extent of territory will operate against any general association ; yet, although the different provinces may be both geographically and politically separated, they must still be joined in bonds of friendship, as their mutual commerce is almost absolutely necessary for their mutual convenience and support.

To them must we then extend our maritime protection ; but in no case ought we to interfere with their internal regulations, unless where our assistance is specifically demanded ; the troops of Old Spain, which would emigrate to America, will undoubtedly be sufficient for every purpose of internal defence. We have already hinted at the prudent policy of our forming settlements on the Spanish American frontiers, not only for colonial advantage, but also to pre-occupy them against France, Russia, and the United States : it is true that, by *treaty*, this is at present impossible ; the subjugation of Old Spain would however do away the letter of the agreement,

whilst acting up to its spirit could not be detrimental to any particular province, and could not therefore give offence to the general interest.

By the Convention signed between England and Spain, in October 1790, in Article Sixth, "It is agreed, that with respect to the Eastern and Western Coasts of South America, and to the Islands adjacent, that no Settlement shall be formed hereafter, by the respective Subjects, on such Parts of the Coasts as are situated to the South of those Parts of the same Coasts, and of the Islands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain, &c."

This article, at the same time, allows the liberty of erecting huts for a fishery, and for other purposes; we have, however, already shewn, that a strict adherence to this article would be unnecessary if the colonies should become independent, and that a policy in direct opposition to it would be most beneficial to the colonies themselves.

We must not, however, expect very rapid advantages, for the slow advances of civilization, and of commerce, are always more likely to be lasting than any extraordinary demand for our manufactures, which at present could only be temporary: the shrub of rapid growth as rapid decays, whilst the oak, requiring a century for maturity, braves, in bold security, the mountain torrent and the winter blast. If the South Am-

even ports are opened to us, we have no occasion to stipulate for a monopoly: England, by protection, the superiority of her fabrics, her long credits, &c. &c. will always be able *virtually* to monopolize, or rather to secure the greatest portion of their commerce. Of the internal amelioration we have already spoken, and we are now happy to add, that some very skilful mineralogists having been sent to the Brazils, they will doubtless be enabled to afford much information to the people concerned in the Spanish mines also, and to introduce an improved system of metallurgy, not only simplifying the metallic process, but also conducing to the preservation of human lives.

We shall now conclude with observing, that, in our estimates of the population, and other statistical notices, we have consulted the best authorities; but have, in all instances, kept within the limits of Mr. Pinkerton, who seems to have made most judicious and accurate researches into his subjects in general, and on whose authority we have more than once relied in the course of this little work.

THE END.

THE
EXAMINER EXAMINED,
OR
LOGIC VINDICATED.

ADDRESSED TO THE
JUNIOR STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

BY A GRADUATE.

*Aut hinc in nos trahit machina muros,
Aut dicit, id est error. Equo ne credite, Teucri.*

OXFORD.

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* N. B. The words [p. 15. l. 28.] "which is impossible" are introduced, because by *proprium* is always meant *specific proprium*, unless *generic* is expressly added. In giving examples of the Predicables, which is what Mr. K. is upon, p. 23. it is always so understood.

I accuse the writer falsely in a single instance, read no farther, but cast my book into the fire, and condemn it to eternal infamy. If I make good my accusations, do not let false pity, and that mawkish plea, of age and services and good intentions, shield the accused from justice, or even mitigate his sentence.

When first I saw the advertisement of *Logic made easy*, it was accompanied by a long list of books from the same author. Of these books I have certainly read but few. What I have read appeared to me to contain nothing sound or useful in them. If any thing was true, it was a feeble expansion of what had been better said elsewhere. In general, the conceptions were indistinct and confused; the information scanty and unconnected; the remarks superficial; the errors, beyond all bearing, abundant and disgraceful; the language turgid, frothy, and impotent. Over all of them indeed was thrown a dress, in the very worst taste of modern millinery: not the gorgeous embroidery of Parr—not the stout buckram of Johnson—not the whalebone and point-lace of Gibbon—but a cheap, thin, tawdry, second-hand, threadbare cloak, in cut and colour just what schoolboys call *shabby genteel*, and so flimsy withal in its texture, that it would not bear the handling. Indeed, I am persuaded that there is not a single page in those works, which, in point of style, will stand the test of rigid criticism. Still, if the world liked them, it was no concern of mine, nor of any one else in this place. Provided they did not affect our character, nor tend to corrupt our studies, he was welcome to pocket his profits, and to laugh, if he pleased, at the credulity of his customers. There was one indeed of these works, which could not be forgiven so easily. An intimation was thrown out in the preface, that it would be serviceable in the course of study recommended here for our degrees. Many people, as well as myself, were astonished at the

effrontery of this pretension. As for myself, I was too young when it first came out, to think of warning the world against it; and since that, the folly and inanity of the book have been exposed by a critic, whose only fault is, that he has passed over too lightly the offence of sporting with the credit of the University for the sake of private gain.

The author ought to have been thankful for this lenity: he ought to have felt the kind forbearance, which many others in this place, whose indignation was deep and well known, practised towards him. But, instead of taking this moderate correction and indulgence in good part, he has become hardened in folly—he has not ceased to weary the press with fresh absurdity, till there is no hope of silencing him by gentle means. Our patience has been tried to the uttermost already: the cup has been long full; and let him not wonder if this last drop has made the waters of bitterness to overflow.

If indeed he had confined himself to that class of writings, with which Oxford, as a place of education, is not concerned, we might have suffered them to pass in silence. I, at least, for one, should not have interrupted him in the enchanting occupation of rearing an accomplished female from the nursery, as I do not pretend to any knowledge or experience in those matters. I might perhaps have pitied the poor motherless Emily, who, without any fault of hers, and believing firmly her gallant father that the Porte was so called from its convenient harbour, should go and seek for Constantinople in the *broad and azure Hellespont*; who should expect to find Geneva and Lausanne on different lakes, and to see Glaciers towering over her head. All these mistakes might be inconvenient to a traveller; but as most well-educated females remain at home, no great harm would have been done to the world. But when an elementary book of in-

struction is studiously recommended to the young and unwary, containing errors

Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the vales

In Vallombrosa—

when every art of book-making chicanery is tried, by advertisement, by title-page and preface, to gain a lodgment for this fabric of imposture within our walls, can we be too loud or too forward in resisting such a design? At the captivating sound of things *made easy*, a crowd of half-witted, half-educated parents hail the welcome guest, and receive him to their bosoms. These we may despise, for they ought to know and have the means of knowing better; but the unsuspecting innocence of youth it is painful to see running eagerly to its own ruin; those

Pueri innuptæque puellæ,

who naturally flock around, and join the cry,

gaudentque manu contingere funem.

Can we then be blamed for endeavouring to weaken the authority, or to chastise the insolence of this false guide? Can we be wrong in hurling back upon himself that ignominy, in which he meant us all to be partakers? If he has done what he could to degrade us, can he complain if in our turn we make him an object of derision? For my own part, I feel more prone to anger than to laughter when employed in this task: but ridicule, though a weapon for the use of which man is deeply responsible, (and if ever I employ it against truth, or reason, or humanity, or religion, may my right hand forget her cunning,) yet is sometimes necessary in serious affairs, to keep alive the attention of the reader, and to refresh his spirits. We have a rough road to travel over, and I am afraid some of my younger comrades will lag behind, and drop off on the march, unless a merry

tune is now and then played; which, heaven knows, I shall play, if ever I do play, with a heavy heart, and that for the sake of my followers, not of myself.

The part indeed which merits the keenest severity will be dispatched first, although the justice of that treatment will depend upon what I establish in the sequel. Let us hear his own words in what he calls his Advertisement, a piece of base *charlatanerie*, deserving of a chastisement far beyond, both in kind and in degree, what it is in my power to inflict.

"The author of the following work was, during two years, one of the Public Examiners in the University of Oxford. He has endeavoured to derive from his practice at that time, and from his previous and subsequent studies, whatever may be conducive to the elucidation of that system of Logic, which he now submits to the notice of the public."

What the wisdom of this appointment was it is now too late to enquire. The evil that arose from it is certainly incurable. But when one considers the serious hurt in his feelings, in his reputation, in his substantial interests, which a candidate may suffer who is rejected at his examination, one cannot but deeply lament that this power was ever vested in the hands of ignorance. There is indeed a fortunate security in the number of Examiners, which can never be less than three: for I am convinced, and am certain, as far as attendance on those occasions can make me certain, that no other Examiner was ever liable to the same objection; and therefore we may venture to hope that no such painful consequence ever followed from this appointment. But if the candidate had answered as he is taught in this book, I would not hesitate to affirm that he *ought* to have been rejected. How humiliating then, how pitiable the condition of a student under those circumstances!—questioned and teased, and liable to be reproved, for having thoroughly learnt that

of which his Examiner was shamefully ignorant. Let us however dismiss the mortifying consideration. Only I trust it will be granted me, that, if the severe sentence of rejection be ever due to a candidate compelled to give an account of his studies, no severity can be too great for him who ought from his situation to be best informed, and who *voluntarily* challenges the notice of the public, provided I make good my charge against him.

That charge is, that in the book, which he calls *Logic made easy*, he betrays his ignorance in all the parts into which Logic is commonly divided.

First, Of the Logical distinctions of words.

Of the Predicables.

Of Subaltern Genera and Species.

Secondly, Of the component parts of a Proposition.

Of the meaning of the technical term *Distributed*.

Of the Opposition of Propositions.

Thirdly, Of the true meaning of *Syllogism*.

Of *Major Term*.

Of *Minor Term*.

Of *Middle Term*.

Of some fundamental rules of the Syllogism.

Of Perfect and Imperfect Moods.

Of Reduction.

Of Hypothetical Reasoning.

And besides this, that he has omitted many important rules; that he has omitted nearly all the reasons for the rules he delivers; that he frequently does not understand the reasons assigned by Aldrich; that he has repeatedly mistranslated him; that he has committed gross incidental blunders; that his language is often loose, confused, and incorrect, where it ought most to have been precise, clear, and exact; that the meaning of it is often obscure, and often that it has no meaning at all.

He confesses indeed that one of his chief difficulties

in acquiring Logic was, that the treatise he studied was written in *Latin*; a difficulty which it is evident still perplexes him. For (notwithstanding the subjoined list, from which he has the *sang froid* to say "he has extacted the essence of all that is practically useful to the general student") his book, I affirm, is almost wholly taken from Aldrich, whose treatise he affects to call a *popular* compendium. If by *popular* is meant a close condensation of all the leading principles of an art, accompanied by a concise demonstration of them in an elliptical style, Aldrich's certainly is a *popular* treatise. But if by *popular* is meant the opposite of all this, then we can only acquit his veracity at the expence of his understanding, or his understanding at the expence of his veracity.

Whoever has digested well this *compendium* of Aldrich, whose chief characteristic is *pregnant brevity*, must have conceived some gratitude for his labours; and must, I should think, feel something of indignation at seeing this deceased author insulted by a kick from so unworthy a successor. That useful and plodding class of men too, college tutors, have no reason to thank him for insinuating that they are incompetent to the task of explaining the little technical difficulties, with which the art of Logic, like every other art, is accompanied. He might, I should conceive, (and it would have been no great sacrifice of his ambition,) have left this humble occupation to men who are content to do their duty in private, without telling the world all they do; who toil on in their plain working-dress, and envy not his flaunting finery, which ravishes the eyes and hearts of the good citizens of London. But so it was in Horace's time, and so it too often is now.

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.

Men will not know when they are well off. He might

have had the whole field of the metropolis to range at large in, and nobody here would, I believe, have attempted to spoil his feeding. But he shall not, if I can help it, fatten upon our disgrace: he shall not, if I can help it, with the British Critic for his mountebank, continue to vend his noxious salves and balsams, as if they were genuine *authorised* medicines. Let him have done with us, and we will have done with him.

One word more upon the list of books which have been consulted for *Logic made easy*, eighteen in number. If he had read and could understand the first of these, he need have gone no farther. The seventh would have been useful to him, as the best full compendium strictly Aristotelian, for from this Aldrich is principally abridged. It might have helped him also, as being Latin instead of Greek. The tenth, *Watts*, might have been of use, as being English instead of Latin. It has much valuable matter: but it is not advisable to enter upon it till the foundation has been well laid in Aristotle. As to the rest, except perhaps the thirteenth, it is all sheer *quackery*. I do not mean that the books are useless; but it is not the way to enrich or perfect Logic, by reading *several treatises of Logic*. The principles being once well settled, whoever seeks to explain and recommend them, must draw his materials from the whole range of art, of science, of literature, and philosophy. By the help of that commanding faculty, that *one-making* power, as Plato calls it, of the soul, men of genius may from time to time improve the best established systems; and no one surely would wish to check or to disparage this species of improvement. But I must be allowed to doubt whether the writer of *Logic made easy* was formed for carrying on this, one of the noblest processes of nature—whether his stomach is furnished with that *pancreatic juice*, which is able to reduce the heterogeneous mixture

gathered into it to one character, and extract from its various parts wholesome aliment, and new life for the body.

It is now time to enter upon a more particular enquiry. I will only premise, that personal hostility has no share in the present undertaking ; that the author is attacked simply as an author ; and that this pamphlet does not contain a single phrase or word, from beginning to end, which would not have been applicable to any other man, who, under the same circumstances, had written the same works. There will, I doubt not, be found reviewers enough to charge me with malice, and pique, and envy, and a long list of sins : but I firmly believe there will not be found even a British Critic hardy enough to say, that Mr. Kett is now attacked for having, in an *eminently useful book*, committed a few mistakes*.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER. SECT. 1.

I have so much to do in the body of the work, that I shall not stop long here. It is a puerile declamation on the use of Logic, containing some nonsense, and some falsehood. E. g. p. 3. "By studying the *distinctions* that prevail with respect to propositions, he is enabled to qualify his assertions, and to measure them by the standard of consistency." Nonsense. Again : "When he advances to that part of Logic which relates to syllogistic reasoning, he learns the agreement and disagreement of ideas with each other." Ib. Falsehood. Other mistakes there are of little moment. For instance, that Logic puts us on our guard against the language of error ; that "all Cicero's most celebrated Orations are characterized by the copiousness of his expressions, for the sake of conveying his ideas with exactness, and by the variety and conclusiveness of his arguments." P. 5.

* Vid. Brit. Crit. on Kett's Elements and Davison's Remarks.

Towards the end are four lines from a noble passage in Horace; Ep. ii. 2. 120. suitable, as Mr. Kett tells us, to those to whom they are suitable.

I know somebody, to whom two lines not far off are suitable.

Prætulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant.

But enough of this. In

SECTION 2.

we have the History of Logic, in which Mr. K. abuses the Schoolmen very liberally: but for what? because, forsooth, they made “subtle and useless distinctions between one word and another,” and that too as “fancy suggested.” Poor Bonaventura!

But there was a worse fault behind. “Their *bulky volumes* filled every library, and exercised, or rather fettered, the understanding of every student who aspired to distinction in the universities, or preferment in the church.” At this passage is a reference in the margin to *Elements of General Knowledge*. Query. Was this finger-post put there by design, or accident?

PART II CHAP. I.

“The operations of the mind are three: 1. Simple Apprehension; 2. Judgment; 3. Reasoning. The first is applied to the first part of Logic.” What, does Mr. K. seriously think that this operation of the mind was made, that he might have an opportunity of writing a treatise on Logic? I have heard of a projector, who thought the only use of rivers was to feed canals: but the narrowness of conception, in the present case, goes far beyond that celebrated example.

In p. 15. is a Pattern Syllogism, to illustrate the third operation of the mind. It is framed, I presume, on pur-

pose for the *Jubilee*, instead of a fire-work. I wish it had been stuffed with stronger powder—it would have gone off better. We will however take it as it is.

All good kings are beloved by their subjects :
George the Third is a good king ; therefore
George the Third is beloved by his subjects.

Which does he mean to prove? the *fact* that he is beloved, or the reason *why?* *An sit?* or *Cur sit?* If the former, it reminds me of a parallel instance, recorded in the following story.

A student, having been accidentally left by the Librarians of the Bodleian, when they shut up the Library, some time after discovered the condition he was in. Starting from his seat, he flew to the window, and called aloud for help. The only person near was the Keeper of the Schools, who answered him from below, proved to his satisfaction, in *Celarent*, that he was not there, and so left him. His argument was this:

No man is in the Bodleian Library after three o'clock :
You are a man ; therefore
You are not in the Bodleian Library.

Just so Mr. K.'s syllogism. If unfortunately the *fact* should ever be questioned, he must be a very good-natured disputant, who admits it upon the credit of this Middle Term.

But perhaps he meant only to assign the reason *why* he is beloved, supposing the *fact* to be acknowledged. In that case it is not a Syllogism at all, (which he certainly meant it to be,) as any Tiro may perceive. For the Conclusion in a Syllogism is that which *was* the Question. But here, “that George the Third is beloved by his subjects,” is not the Question. It is assumed as a fact, and an enquiry is instituted into the cause. *Why* George the Third is beloved by his subjects, is the Ques-

tion. This is not *syllogizing*, but *investigating*; a totally distinct process; and belongs not properly to Logic, but to the art or science in which the subject matter lies. The syllogistic form is not adapted to a proceeding, *where one term of the question is unknown*. This is one of the complaints which Lord Bacon makes against School Logic; and there is no answering it, except by saying, that an art must not be blamed for not teaching more than it professes to teach. The proper business of Logic is to make the agreement or the disagreement of two *given terms* more evident than it was before.

This purpose is not answered by Mr. K.'s Pattern Syllogism. I do not wonder at it. For I see clearly, that these speculations never passed through his mind; and that he has only been stringing together words and rules, of the force of which he had very confused notions. *His own purpose*, however, is answered too well: for, I take it, his arguments (like Peter Pindar's razors) are made not to cut, but to scil.

If this passage, long and dry as it is, serves to give the Student any firmer footing than he felt before, I may well be pardoned the digression. It will, I hope, be read with attention, notwithstanding the levity that introduced it. .

In the mean time we must admire Mr. K. for his loyalty, whatever we may think of his Logic. And, considering the occasion for which this pseudo-syllogism seems to have been framed, and the hard doubling and tying with which its nonsense was fastened in, I think we may, after the example of some celebrated sophisms of old, as the *Achilles* of Zeno, the *Mentiens* of Chrysippus, not unaptly call this, the *Cracker* of Mr. Kett.

A remark immediately follows, to which the reader of *Logic made easy* has, I dare say, already given his firm assent—" Each of the operations of the mind is subject " to its respective defect."

Some few absurdities crown this chapter, of no great importance to the art or form of Logic. E. g. "Reflection is the *source* of such acts of the mind as thinking, hoping, &c. It consists in the action of the mind upon itself, &c." As an example of a connate sentiment, we have, I believe, for the first time, "Children ought to honour their parents."

CHAP. II.

P. 18. We are told, and told truly, that different words in different languages express the same idea: and, the writer remarks, it is evident from hence, that "for that reason words are said to be substituted for things." As a detached sentence, he adds, that "words are said to be established by custom, because the use of words is arbitrary;" that is, for the very convincing reason, because they are established by custom.

This, however, is the inference which ought to have been drawn from the first remark. He should have said, Different words in different languages express the same idea; from which it is evident, that they have no affinity in nature to *that* idea, but that they are established by custom to represent it. The general proposition, that words are substituted for things, or the ideas of things, needs no proof: it is an admitted fact. The whole passage is a muddy exposition of Aldrich. "Vox est signum rei vel conceptus ex instituto vicarium." To proceed.

"A univocal word has only one meaning, agreeing equally with many ideas." No learner would understand this. It is a word which applies with equal propriety, and in the same sense, to many things: as *man*, to the several individuals of the species; *animal*, to the several individuals or species included under it.

"An analogous word is a word taken in different senses, and one of them has some resemblance to another." This is proposed as an improvement upon the precise and ele-

gant definition of Aldrich. “*Analogum est cuius una significatio inæqualiter convenit multis.*” Inæqualiter—with unequal propriety—one use being primary, the other secondary—one proper, the other borrowed or metaphorical. This, which is the chief characteristic of analogous words, is wholly omitted by Mr. Kett. Because *analogy* is often used in common conversation where *resemblance* would do as well, he has run away with the notion, that they are the same thing. *Analogy* is not resemblance, but the *sameness or resemblance of relation*.

This topic is one of the richest which Logic contains. Mr. K. little suspects how much hidden treasure lies under it. But we must go on.

P. 20, Mæcenas, Alexander, and Cæsar, are given as examples of *Metaphor*.

“A *concrete word* signifies a *word connected with its subject*.” Absolute nonsense. Could he possibly mean to render this passage of Aldrich? “*Concretum, quod rem [spectat] quasi suā naturā liberam, sed jam implicitam subjecto, ut Justus.*”

Take the following sentence as an explanation of *Relative Words*. It is the whole of his doctrine upon that subject.

“With respect to relative words, he may be a man, “ who is neither the father nor the son, the master nor “ the servant, of any particular man.”

Lastly; as an example of *vix secundæ intentionis*, he gives “*organ*, when used to signify an instrument in “ general.” What sort of organ does he deserve?

CHAP. III.

Hold up! I had nearly stumbled at the very threshold here; but surely it would not have been my fault, for I never could have expected Categories or Predicables side by side. An everlasting plague on our scavengers, if

they suffer these nuisances to remain undisturbed in the public road !

" Every Category or Predicable is a common term, " which may be asserted or predicated of things of different kinds." Why only of different kinds? Is not man a predicate?

Let me observe here, for the sake of mere Tirones, that the ordinary way of speaking is not strictly accurate, when we say there are *five Predicables*. Aldrich's term is better, *Predicabilium capita*. Every word (except proper names, particles, and conjunctions) is a *Predicable* of one or other of the *five sorts*, *Genus*, *Species*, *Differentia*, *Proprium*, *Accidens*. So much to avoid being misunderstood: for I may often speak in the common way, and say there are but *five Predicables*, instead of *five sorts of Predicables*.

Mr. K. is very confused in what he says about the difference between a man and a horse, p. 25. Speaking of two characters of antiquity, Socrates and Bucephalus, he says, " This particular, in which *they* disagree, is called " the *differentia*. If *they* agree in any thing necessarily " connected with their essence, that is called the *proprium*." If the first *they* and the last *they* stand for the same subject, this explanation is false. If the man and horse disagree in a part of their essence, that particular in which each disagrees from the other is well called its *differentia*. If the man and the horse *agree* in any thing necessarily connected with their essence, [which is impossible,] that particular is common to both, and therefore not the *proprium* of either. I suspect, that by the first *they* he meant man and horse—by the second *they*, *men only*, or *horses only*. Logic is a dry study, but you must bear with me. If I cannot make it *easy*, I try to make it entertaining. But if the above passage about the *proprium* stands, I may, for aught I know, be expected to provide entertainment both for man and horse.

P. 25. The example from Linnæus undoes all that had been said before about *Subaltern Genera and Species*. Both words are applicable to the same things, according as they relate to *cognate* classes more or less comprehensive than themselves. But what says this Logician?

"In Linnæus's arrangement, the animal kingdom is the *Summum Genus*. The Six Classes are the *Subaltern Genera*. The 354 kinds are the *Subaltern Species*. The 6000 known species are the lowest species." I leave any Undergraduate who has passed the *Responsiones* to correct him. The same blunder is repeated in the same page, when speaking of the vegetable kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

Definition.

The word *subaltern genus* is ignorantly used again, where he ought to have said the *proximum genus*, p. 28. As for the rules of Definition, they are tolerably translated from Aldrich, only that *justo numero* is rendered *exact number*, which is nonsense. It is a loose expression, and may be rendered *suitable, moderate*. It means in this passage neither too few nor too many.

But what shall we say of the Definitions themselves, proposed as patterns for young logicians?

"A Parallelogram is a four-sided figure, whose opposite sides are equal, and all its angles right angles." This a definition!

Perhaps he will quote in support of it *The Elements of General Knowledge*; in which case I must knock under, as I have only the authority of Euclid to oppose to him.

Let us take one more, as a specimen of English. "Geography is the science which describes the globe as consisting of land and water, and their various inhabitants and productions." Try it how you will, I defy you to construe it.

CHAP. V.

The Predicaments I pass hastily over, only observing, that there is not the slightest use in treating of them thus superficially. It will not do to go through *them* at a hand-gallop—they may be as well omitted altogether. In casting my eye over p. 33, I perceive, under the predicament of *Quantity*, that “triangles, squares, &c. are *affections* of lines, surfaces, &c.” Wallis would have told him, Mathematical figures *non sunt hujus loci*. As figures they belong to *Quality*, not to *Quantity*. They are *qualitates*, because they answer to the question *Quales*, but not *affectiones*: he might as well have said “moral tales.”

CHAP. VI.

The chapter on Division gives as a 3d rule, what is only an exemplification of the 2d. A pretty commentary this upon the art of Division!

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The second part opens with a declaration of two awful truths:

Man is a rational animal.

A horse is not a rational animal.

The horse is a truly noble animal, and, considering the great services he renders mankind, I can hardly think it generous in us to be continually upbraiding him with that want of reason, to which he never put up any pretensions. Examples to be sure must be had somewhere; and my own tutor (who was a very dull man, but who was honest enough to learn what he took money to teach) always made his pupils scour the country in quest of them. To be sure, he kept the horse ready saddled in

the stable, for his own riding; but then it was only in case of need. If he had time, he used to put something before us a little more indicative of the faculty of reason in himself.

Still the propositions are both unquestionably *true*. The force of nature, however, could go no farther. The next is decidedly false.

"A Proposition consists of three parts or terms." Three terms in a Proposition!

"The subject and predicate of a Proposition *taken together* are called the extremes." Why must they be *taken together*? Each of them is by itself called a *Term* or an *Extreme*, both names meaning the same thing.

"The subject is the term concerning which something "is affirmed, denied, or *doubted*." OR DOUBTED! What have we to do here with doubting? Doubting is a state of the mind *previous to* any decision or judgment. A Proposition expresses an act of judgment *already performed*, or it is no proposition at all. You a teacher of Logic! You an Examiner! O shame! O shame!

Again. "The Copula is the *term* which connects the "subject with the predicate." In the first lecture of the course which I attended, every fresh-man learnt enough to teach you better than this.

In the same page he turns *scribo* into *ego sum scribens*, and this he calls resolving a *word* into the ideas it contains. Any Student who has read Aldrich knows that it is merely resolving a *verb* into its component parts, the *Copula* and the *Participle*.

"From such examples it appears, that we are *not so much* to regard the number of words in a sentence, as "the ideas they stand for." p. 42. Who, I should like to know, ever did? I beg pardon: I think the purchasers of Mr. K.'s works must be an exception from the general rule.

CHAP. II.

"A particular proposition denotes a limited number, " and the signs prefixed are *some, many*." Some and many limited numbers! Perhaps this was only a slip of the pen. *Denotes*, however, is wrong. A proposition does not denote. A term denotes. He should have said, A particular proposition has for its subject a common term, but predicates only of a part of it; which part is expressed by *some, many, &c.*

But now comes the most extraordinary way I ever saw of making Logic easy. "An indefinite proposition in *necessary matter* is equal to a universal, *for* [instead of "i. e.] it is understood to comprehend the whole subject: it is equal to a particular proposition in *contingent matter*, *for* [instead of i. e.] it is understood to relate only to a part." p. 45. What *necessary matter* is, and what *contingent matter* is, the learner may wonder and examine, but he will never find till he comes to p. 51, where the explanation is translated from Aldrich. I say *for* is put instead of *i. e.* because *for* introduces a reason, and there is *no reason* given there. The reason for what is said does not come till p. 51.

Nothing is more necessary to a learner than a precise notion of what is meant by the technical term *Distributed*. What is Mr. Kett's definition?

"A term standing for the whole of a thing or subject, " as it necessarily *includes all the parts* into which it can "be divided, for that reason is said to be *distributed*," Very confused and vague indeed. A term is said to be *distributed* in a proposition, when in that proposition it represents not any portion merely, but every individual of the things properly denoted by it.

Then follow the rules respecting the distribution of terms in the four Propositions, A. E. I. O. But these rules are to be taken upon trust, and learnt merely by

rote, according to Mr. K. for he does not offer a single demonstration of them, although he had only to translate one of the easiest pages, in point of Latin, of that *popular* compendium, to which he owes so much. There is certainly close reasoning in the page; which, I fear, is just as troublesome now, as Latin formerly was to the Examiner.

CHAP. IV.

The same method is pursued in treating of the Conversion of Proposition. The rules are all taken from Aldrich, but the reasons of those rules are omitted; that being a *popular* treatise, and this, I suppose, truly esoteric.

The chapter, however, is very clumsily, not to say ignorantly, done. He says, there are *two sorts* of Conversion, and he gives us *three*. The last, viz. by contraposition, is omitted in Aldrich, as of little use. It is worthy of remark, however, as being the only method of converting a particular negative. Mr. K. has indeed given us the barbarous line,

ast O per contra, sic fit conversio tota,

in which he has betrayed, as usual, his ignorance of its meaning. It ought to have been either *A, O per contra, &c.* or, as it commonly runs, *fAxO per contra, &c.* to shew that A and O are capable of this sort of conversion. He has left out A in his line, and yet the only examples he gives are of that proposition; not one of O. This comes from what has been heretofore aptly called “the ‘unhappiness of compilation.’”

For my own part, I like old Wallis’s English lines best.

E, I are *simply* turned: E, A by Acc.

A, O are *counter-put*, in going back.

The last paragraph of this chapter, treating of *convertible terms*, has no business here. Its substance is taken from Wallis, who expressly says, that the doctrine of *convertible terms* is quite foreign to this part, [*non est hujus loci,*] but belongs (as must be obvious to any reflecting mind) to the first part of Logic. This also comes from the “unhappiness of compilation.” We shall soon see that Mr. K. uses even the words TERM and PROPOSITION as *convertible terms*.

CHAP. V.

Opposition of Propositions.

Opposition, he says, takes place “when two propositions having the same extremes differ either in quantity, or in quality, or in both.” And yet in the same page he tells us, that disagreement in *quality* is essential to Opposition, properly so called.

“In subaltern propositions, a false particular follows a false universal.” p. 51. Thus for example:

“*All men are generous,*” is certainly a false universal; therefore, according to Mr. K. “*Some men are generous,*” is false likewise. Well done Examiner!

In his examples of impossible matter, that is, where the extremes essentially disagree, he cleverly pronounces their agreement, as, *All men are angels.*

PART III.

CHAP. I.

Argument and Syllogism.

“Reasoning is that kind of evidence, by which one truth is inferred from others by JUST METHODS OF ARGUMENT.” p. 57. Then follow two specimens of REASONING, both of them *Petitiones principii*; i. e. proving a question *per aequum ignotum*, or rather *per ignotius*. Here is the first of them. The other is just like it.

All houses are built by men :

All cottages are houses ; therefore

All cottages are built by men.

His own account of *Petitio principii*, p. 84. is not a bad one. "This takes place when an *attempt* is made to prove "a Proposition by the same Proposition in other words, "or by some reason that is equally uncertain and dis- "puted." He seems, however, to think it a *commendable and ingenious attempt*, for he is perpetually at it, when he would give examples of Reasoning. Otherwise, how unaccountable this infatuation, with the sentence just quoted staring him in the face! But truly doth Fuller inform us, A wink is as good as a nod to some people. There is a dulness which can see nothing, which can be taught nothing. *Query.* Can it be made to feel? I almost despair even of that, since the ill success of Mr. Davison's Remarks.

THEREFORE, All cottages are built by men!

Mr. K. after having used this proposition in the preceding paragraph as an example of one which stands in no need of proof, is not ashamed to print this trash, and call it a Syllogism. How much better are the general signs, A, B, C, than such examples!

"The *Major term* [of a syllogism] is the Predicate." The predicate of what? "The *Minor term* is the *Sub-ject.*" Again I must ask, but ask in vain, The subject of what?

The *Major term* is afterwards used to explain the *Major premiss*, and the *Minor term* to explain the *Minor premiss*, although neither *Major* nor *Minor* term have been explained themselves. Presently, however, he tells us, "The "Major term of a Syllogism is *therefore* the predi- "cate of the conclusion." Therefore! For what? The whole is inextricable confusion. It may do Mr. K. no

harm. But if a candidate were to give this account of things in the Schools, he would infallibly be *plucked*.

Five out of the six principles, upon which syllogistic reasoning is founded, are translated from Aldrich; but why not the sixth? Was it because he could not? It is just as necessary to be mentioned as the fifth, being applicable to *Negatives*, as that is to *Affirmatives*.

Then follows a part, which I know not how to describe by its proper title. It strikes me as the most impudent and scandalous pretence of *making Logic easy*, that ever was put forth since the art of puffing was invented. Aldrich gives twelve fundamental rules for the structure of the syllogism, with accurate demonstrations of them, by help of principles previously established. His whole section is a beautiful specimen of brevity, perspicuity, and correctness. Mr. K. also gives twelve rules. The first, second, third, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, are taken from Aldrich; omitting all the reasons on which they rest: just as if one were to string together the forty-eight Propositions of the first book of Euclid without the Demonstrations, and then call it *making Mathematics easy*. The fourth rule is not from Aldrich: nor, indeed, should I ever have suspected it of coming from a rational animal. It runs thus:

"That syllogism is faulty, in which the Middle term "is not distributed in the premisses, but is distributed "in the conclusion." The Middle term in the conclusion!!! How very easy Logic is now made! Oh! Mr. Kett! Mr. Kett! does not the phantom of some rejected candidate haunt your midnight dreams, and cry aloud for vengeance! That *you* should be sitting with your cap on as an Examiner, while *he* stood trembling before you, and awaiting your sentence! Oh! the blindness, the wanton cruelty of Fortune!"

The eleventh rule is one of his own too. "If either

"of the premisses be false, so will be the conclusion. Thus, to use the favourite example,

cAm. *Every horse is an animal:*

Es. *No man is an animal; therefore*

trEs. *No man is a horse.*

I suppose Mr. Kett will allow the Minor premiss to be false. But then, according to his own rule, the Conclusion must be false likewise. Therefore its Contradictory must be true. Therefore "*Some man is a horse.*" How degrading are his rules to his own species!

The twelfth rule is no rule. It tells us nothing. Perhaps he meant by it to express the sixth of Aldrich, a very important one; and therefore, as was natural, omitted, in order to make Logic easy.

* CHAP. II.

"The various manners, in which the terms of *any* three propositions may be stated, in order to make syllogisms, are determined by the different figures." I leave this to speak for itself.

P. 63. "It is evident from the rules of syllogistic reasoning before stated, that no other forms are conclusive, except such as are marked out by the following ternaries, &c." *It is evident!* If it is, you have done all you could to make it *not evident*. For you have not given the *demonstration* of a single rule; you have not given the *application* of a single rule; you have not shewn why some legitimate Moods are excluded from each figure; and, by omitting Aldrich's sixth rule, you have left the list open to fifteen additional Moods, which are excluded only by the operation of that rule. So much for your knowledge of *Mood* and *Figure*.

Disdaining the A, B, C of Aldrich, Mr. K. will give us syllogisms of his own invention. But they are mostly

of the CRACKER kind : i. e. the Conclusion is a proof of the Minor premiss, not the Minor premiss of the Conclusion. In other words, the connection between the Middle term and one of the Extremes is less evident than the connection between the Extremes themselves.

No passionate man is judicious :
Every philosopher is judicious ; therefore
No philosopher is a passionate man.

Again :

All frauds are forbidden by law :
Some trades are not forbidden by law ; therefore
Some trades are not frauds.

Would not a rational animal rather infer, that a philosopher was judicious, because he was not passionate ; and that some trades were not forbidden by law, because they are not frauds ?

CHAP. III.

The Reduction of Syllogisms.

" The first figure is therefore called direct or perfect, because all kinds of syllogisms may be proved in it." Most of you to whom I address myself know this sentence, like many others, to be made up of falsehood and nonsense. First, The Moods of the first figure are not called direct or perfect for the reason here assigned, but because they are demonstrable by the *Dictum de omni et nullo*. Secondly, To talk of *syllogisms proved* in a certain Mood is to talk *nonsense*. *Propositions* may be proved.

He continues: " In its four Modes the conclusions necessarily follow from the premisses ; but the Modes in all the other figures are deficient in some particulars ; there-

"fore they are called indirect, or imperfect." This is not nonsense, but it is wholly false. The conclusions in *all* the Moods necessarily follow from the premisses: the only inferiority in the Moods of the second and third figure is, that their conclusiveness is *less evident*: it is not capable of being demonstrated by the *Dictum de omni et nullo*. For that purpose, and for no other, Reduction is of use.

No wonder that a writer, who knows not the *use* of Reduction, should be unable to explain its process. The two paragraphs about *Reductio ad Impossibile* are admirable specimens, in the way of Quintilian's declaiming master, *οὐδετέρων*, *οὐδετέρων*. The latter is deeply charged with nonsense. I would advise the young student not to venture near it.

In p. 69. *Cesare* is said to be reduced to *Celarent* "by "the simple conversion of the Major term." Some time ago he used *Syllogism*, where he ought to have used *Proposition*; now, in the place of *Proposition*, he uses *Term*. Is it possible that such an one can know the meaning of either? But I am sick of all this. Reduction is the most useless part of School Logic: and, I presume, it is only made, if ever it is made, the subject of enquiry at our Examination, as the most expeditious method of ascertaining that the candidate has really studied a treatise of Logic in the regular manner.

CHAP. IV.

Hypothetical Syllogism.

Crackers again!

If the king be wise, the people are well governed:
But the king is wise; therefore
The people are well governed.

Most loyal and convincing! I hope the people are as much satisfied of the Consequent, as I am of the Antecedent. My only means, however, as I am not a courtier, of judging this Antecedent to be true, are by deducing it from the Consequent: a proceeding with which all Mr. Kett's readers are, I believe, by this time perfectly familiar.

N. B. An admirable example of this same kind may be seen, p. 71. which I omitted in its proper place:

*All believers in Christ will be saved:
Some Jews will not be saved; THEREFORE
Some Jews are not believers in Christ.*

P. 73. I must copy the whole of this paragraph. "To remove the Antecedent or Consequent in such cases, [i. e. Destructive Hypothetical reasoning,] does not merely signify the denial, but the contradiction of it; for the denial of it, by a contrary Proposition, *will not make a true Syllogism*; as for example,

" *If every man be good, then every gamester is good:*
" *But no gamester is good; therefore*
" *No man is good."*

Who but Mr. K. would have *attempted* to draw that inference? I affirm, notwithstanding his high authority, that we may remove the Antecedent by *denying* the Consequent, as much as by contradicting it. Indeed, I do not know any writer who uses these words as different in meaning. To adduce a Contrary Proposition is to do more than to *deny*; it is to disallow the statement of the adversary, and to advance one of your own. E. g.

All writers on Logic will be read with profit.

I *deny* that.

Some writers on Logic will not be read with profit.

But if I say,

No writer on Logic will be read with profit,

I enter upon a new question. This, however, may be thought trifling—too obvious to require explanation. For every one surely sees, that the regular inference may be drawn in Mr. K.'s example from the premisses there stated, viz. "*Every man is not good:*" which is equivalent to "*Some men are not good.*" I have proved the falsehood of the Antecedent by deducing its Contradictory.

CHAP. V.

Of Compound and Defective Syllogisms.

Speaking of an Enthymem, he is bold enough to give the following example :

Rashness is a vice; therefore

Rashness is to be avoided.

and then adds, "If we supply, *Every vice is to be avoided*, as a Major term, the syllogism will be complete." He is nearly come to the end of his treatise, and has not yet learned the difference between *term* and *proposition*.

I have only to repeat to him, in the language of good Sir Hugh Evans, "That divers philosophers hold the "term to be parcel of the *proposition*," not one and the self-same thing.

It is indeed unlucky for Mr. K. that, besides having "all the operations of the mind liable to their respective "defects," he has not what Sir Hugh would call "a "good sprag memory," he can "remember nothing in "his prain." I would be content to let him off all the three *operations*, if he minded what was told him a little better, or minded only what he had said himself. Without one or other of these faculties, however, the writing of books does seem to me a species of *rashness*, and

therefore, according to his own irresistible enthymem, *to be avoided*. It was but a few pages back, p. 41. that he told us a Proposition consisted of *three terms*, whereas now he allows it only *one!* But I have learned something by this puzzle. I never knew, till now, the exact meaning of a TERM-TROTTER—a species of animal, which had of late become so scarce, as to be considered almost extinct. We used to fancy him, *animal bipes implume,* *νῆ και ἐπισήμης δεκτικός*, otherwise he would not have travelled so far for what he could not carry home. But in future, I believe, he must resign his title to most of these properties : of one I am sure I am at this moment depriving him ; for whatever may be thought hereafter of his science and his *νῆ*, his *Logic made easy* will certainly never cease to be *a feather in his cap.*

A truce, however, to this trifling. The honest Cambrian above mentioned was an Examiner as well as Mr. Kett ; and I once had a design of sketching out a scene, compiled from *Logic made easy*, and a few other documents of equal authority, by which the University might have brought the two rivals into comparison, each in their respective line ; Sir Hugh in Grammar, and Mr. K. in Logic. But my remarks have run out to such length already, that I must abandon this project, and leave it to the hands of some saucy Undergraduate, who, I doubt not, will catch the hint, and dress it up with much better seasoning than I could prepare myself.

I will only observe of this simple-hearted devourer of toasted cheese, that, however meanly he might execute the task of educating his hopeful pupil, he does not make a parade of his services, and call upon the world to admire him : and when desired to inflict a little discipline on a vain-boaster and a bully, he seems to think with reason, that “it is admirable pleasures, and fiery ‘honest knaveryies.’”

But we have not quite done with the Enthymem yet. For an enthymematic sentence, he lets out the old hack.

Αθάνατος ὁργὴν μὴ φυλάττε θυτὸς ἔν.

◦

But his translation omits the only word which makes it enthymematic, *έν*.

O mortal, cherish not immortal rage.

Why was he above following that popular book, which translates it for him, “*Mortalis cum sis?*”

Then follow some remarks, which every one will allow to be acute and original.

“ If an Enthymem be false, it is so because one of the “ premisses is false, or because the *conclusion* is not cor-“ rect: as if any one should argue thus :

“ *Man is an animal*; therefore

“ *A man can fly*.

“ Here the Consequent cannot follow from the Ante-“ cedent, unless it was granted that *all animals can fly*.

“ The Enthymem forms the most common kind of ar-“ gument both in writing and in conversation; therefore “ attention to correctness in the application of it is highly “ necessary.” p. 78.

Does he mean to say, that there are two distinct causes for the falsehood of Enthymems? If so, he has given no example of the latter, which most required it. But what is meant by a *false Enthymem*? By a *false Syllogism*, we mean an inconclusive one; not one which contains a *false premiss*. The same, one would think, would hold of a *false Enthymem*. But there is in fact no such thing as an *inconclusive Enthymem*: because one premiss being suppressed, it may always be considered as that proposition which is necessary to warrant the conclusion. Therefore I cannot well see what a *false Enthy-*

mem means. Mr. K. however talks of the *conclusion not being correct*, as a cause why an *Enthymem* is *false*. He seems to have no distinct idea annexed to any one word of the sentence. Yet he tells us, that Logic serves to "dissipate the clouds of confusion, and to introduce the light of order into the mind: it teaches men to make just distinctions between the various kinds of words and ideas," &c. &c. I wish he would accompany his advertisements with an authentic list of cures. For my own part, I generally feel more confusion, more uncertainty and embarrasment, after reading his attempt to explain a thing, than I did before. Thus, in the sentence above quoted, I suppose his meaning, if any, is this: If the *Enthymem* is *not correct*, the *conclusion* is *false*; not that the *Enthymem* is *false because the conclusion is not correct*; which seems to me to be either saying what is not true, or what has no meaning. For *true* and *false* belong properly to single *Propositions*. Combinations of *Propositions* are *correct* or *not correct*.

Now I am upon this subject, let me notice another passage in a different part of his book, where the same confusion prevails; pardonable indeed in a boy, but disgraceful in a man, who professes to dissipate the clouds of confusion by the aid of Logic. He is speaking of Mathematicians. "They state *Postulates*, the truth of which, when once admitted, cannot afterwards be disputed." p. 91. And in the same page again he speaks of "*Propositions deduced from Postulates*."

Now this shews that he is ignorant what a *Proposition* is. A *Proposition affirms* or *denies*. A *Postulate begs, asks, requires*. A *Proposition must be* either *true* or *false*. A *Postulate can never be either*. The one is addressed to our *understanding*, the other to our *will*. We *assent* to the one, we *consent* to the other. Yet, because some colloquial words are applied equally to each, such as *granting, admitting, rejecting, denying, fair, just, reasonable,*

&c. people are apt to confound the matter still more, and transfer to the one, words which denote ideas proper *only* to the other.

The importance of fixing these elementary notions steadily and distinctly in the mind is incalculable. Mr. Kett (whom I eagerly quote when he happens ~~to be~~ right) truly says, “ it is the first step to accurate knowledge.” How unlucky then that he should think of teaching Logic before he had taken that step himself ! The importance, I say, is incalculable. For these ideas being clearly discerned, serve as standards, by which a whole army is marshalled and arrayed ; and, if ever the thoughts are thrown into confusion, become rallying points, round which the scattered forces collect gradually, and fall into their proper places. Thousands of secondary and compound ideas, each with their corresponding terms, depend upon one common primary idea, to which they all bear a certain affinity or relation. In some, this primary idea is the base of their composition ; in others it is a principal ; in others a subordinate ingredient. Still it is a central point of action to all, and the movements of these subordinate parties must be regulated by the situation of their superior. Those most essentially connected with it should be most rigidly confined. In proportion as they recede from the centre, more freedom is allowed, till at length the light troops, upon whom no stress is laid, may be allowed to range loosely about, to intermix with one another, and to scour the distant country.

During a period of peace, indeed, a certain laxity of discipline is allowed to all. But at the sound of the trumpet, at the sight of an enemy, the moment close reasoning and argument are intended, we must call in these stragglers, and employ them in their peculiar office and duty.

Thus, in the instance before mentioned, we talk of *true*

men, true syllogisms, true lines, true appearance, true representation; to all of which cases, of course, *false* may be opposed: but if we consider attentively, the word denotes different ideas in each instance; e. g. *honest men, legitimate syllogisms, perfect lines, real appearance, exact representation*, the genuine idea of *truth* not belonging properly to any. And language, having a natural tendency towards this rambling, how necessary is it, to prevent surprise, that we should know beforehand both the right quarters of our men, and the favourite haunts into which they are apt to stray! The first of these points of information Logic gives, especially in the part called the Categories, or Predicaments, and the Post-predicaments; a very valuable part of the Organon, where the most fundamental and continually recurring ideas, vaguely as they are conceived in common life, have their exact limits marked out, and the latitude of action, which must be allowed even in the strictest service, carefully prescribed.

The doctrine is so important and so interesting, that I may be allowed perhaps to illustrate it by another image. It is with *words* as with *money*. Those who know the value of it best, are not therefore the least liberal. We may *lend* readily and largely; and although this be done quietly, and without ostentation, yet there is no harm in keeping an exact account in our private memorandum-book of the sums, the persons, and the occasions on which they were lent. It may be, we shall want them again for our own use; or they may be employed by the borrower for a wrong purpose; or they may have been so long in his possession, that he begins to look upon them as his own. In either of which cases it is allowable, and even right, to call them in. This can be understood, however, only of considerable sums, such as may draw after them some weighty consequences, according as they

are well or ill applied. Our loose cash we may dispose of, as others do, without calling ourselves or others to a serious account; though even here, perhaps, a little discretion will not be found amiss.

If the analogy is perceived and allowed, no one will wonder why I recommend the study of the ~~Categóriæ~~ (including the Post-predicaments) as a most salutary discipline of the mind. Indeed, I am persuaded, that a thorough acquaintance with the meaning of ten words of the kind there discussed will inform and improve its faculties more than ten volumes upon General Knowledge, after the manner of Mr. Kett, even putting the errors of every sort out of the question.

Neither should this study be considered as extinguishing, or even restraining, the power of the imagination. On the contrary, I am convinced, it will tend to invigorate its flights, and will enable it in its wildest excursions to grasp its prey more firmly: while to the more calm and methodical enquirer it will serve to unlock some of the golden stores of taste; and to the gifted few, who are content to toil up the arduous steep, it will point the way towards that proud eminence, those *supientum tempa serena*, from whence will burst upon their view delightful and glowing visions of philosophy.

The subject is too captivating. I must now break from it, and resume a drudgery of which I am almost weary.

Before we quit the passage last produced from p. 78, let me observe, that the word *Conclusion* is used by Mr. K. in the sense of *consequens*, not *consequentia*, as may be seen by a reference to p. 77. so that he cannot escape any part of my remarks by accusing me of having put a wrong sense upon the word. Indeed, if it were meant to bear the sense of *consequentia*, his doctrine would only

amount to this, "that the Enthymem is incorrect when its reasoning is incorrect;" by which explanation he would not gain much.

Once for all of Enthymems of three terms. They are then only faulty when the *premiss understood* is more questionable than the *premiss expressed*, or than the *conclusion*. As if I should say,

All believers in Christ will be saved: therefore
Some Jews are not believers in Christ.

The absurdity of the reasoning is made manifest by putting forward the latent premiss, which will not bear the light. Nobody, at least, but Mr. Kett would be hardy enough to advance the following as a process of reasoning :

All believers in Christ will be saved :
Some Jews will not be saved; therefore
Some Jews are not believers in Christ.

Vid. *Logic made easy*, p. 71.

INDUCTION.

INDUCTION is a process which required particular explanation : for a vulgar opinion prevails, that Lord Bacon first introduced this method of reasoning, and that it supersedes the use of the Aristotelic Syllogism. Induction is certainly the method by which Principles are to be acquired, which Aristotle knew, and said as distinctly as Lord Bacon. Aristotle's fault is, that he assumed his principles too hastily ; and the folly of the Schoolmen was their supposing, that what he *assumed* as principles, they must implicitly receive. Hence, in Physics especially, the progress of science was hindered, if not altogether stopped. The professed object of enquirers in that study was to reconcile the phænomena of nature with some previously received dogma, the truth of which it was a kind of philosophical heresy to question. And

thus the speculations of the most ingenious men served rather to bind the error, if it was an error, faster upon mankind, and to wind it round with more subtle and intricate threads of perplexed reasoning. Just as when a physician, having mistaken a case, brings to the treatment of it some false preconceived notion, and endeavours to twist every thing into a conformity with ~~his~~
own first opinion, matters go on much worse than if ~~the~~
patient had been left alone to the suggestions of common sense and of his own feelings. Sometimes, indeed, nature would break through these bandages of ignorance, and do her own work. Of this we have some noble examples, in the first Bacon, in Copernicus, and a few others.

No one, however, till the immortal author of the *Nouum Organon*, ventured to renounce his allegiance altogether to this unconstitutional and usurped authority. He planned an entire revolution in the whole fabric and economy of the state. He may be regarded as the inheritor of some antiquated mansion, upon which, from its first building, its successive owners had neither made nor attempted any improvement; but had only sought, by temporary expedients, to keep it weather-tight, and hand it down as little altered as they could to their next descendants. Despising the ignoble work of patching, propping, and plastering over, He determined upon a vigorous and decisive measure. He was unwilling to trust the interested and prejudiced surveyors of the old school; and accordingly he made a thorough inspection of the state of the building, from top to bottom, himself: when, finding the foundation unsound, the main beams ill laid, the timbers rotten, the roof falling in, the apartments and passages awkwardly contrived and inconvenient, he made up his mind at once to pull the whole to pieces, and to begin, as well as he was able, a

new edifice from the ground. He had laid in a large stock of materials himself, before he made known his chief design. He then redoubled his diligence, and, pointing out the likeliest places, and the best way of searching, he called upon his friends to help him in bringing together what he wanted.

Still, for a time, the family were worse lodged than before. Temporary sheds were run up, which did not stand the first winter. Many people made heavy complaints of his want of reverence for antiquity, and for the judgment of those who had gone before him. "The old house was good enough for his ancestors; and "why could not he remain contented with it?" Some laughed at his temerity, and exulted in any little failure of his new undertaking; others shook their heads, and predicted that no good would come of it to the neighbourhood round. Many were seen, especially the pensioners and hangers-on of the old family, raking still among the ruins for little scraps and fragments of worn-out materials, which they fancied must be better than any that could be made now-a-days. Some were even so infatuated, that they preferred boarding up for themselves, among the tottering ruins, a frail, leaky outhouse to lodge in, that they might shew their contempt of the new-fangled habitations he was preparing for their use.

This state of things, however, did not last long. The new materials were found in general so much superior to the old, that common sense forced people into an approbation and preference of them. The builders employed grew every day more expert in their business: hands came in fast; and the work went on briskly. In the mean time the illustrious owner and master-workman died, leaving his unfinished work a legacy to his friends and countrymen. They were not insensible to its value, and in general acted upon the plan he had

sketched out for them. Nevertheless, it was not till the time of the great Newton that we could be said to have a house to live in. It was then that all the main parts of the building might be considered as put ~~out~~ of hand; though much remains now to be done, inside and out, upstairs and down, and we are still *in mortar*.

Now, lest any of you should suppose that I have forgotten what I was about, (and in truth this building has been a longer job than I intended or expected myself,) let us consider whether the view thus taken may not help to correct some vulgar prejudices. Those among you who are at all acquainted with Lord Bacon's works, and with the progress of philosophy in this country during the seventeenth century, will not be at a loss to find some meaning in every sentence of my prolix story.

The principal meaning, however, is this. That both Aristotle and Bacon laboured in the same cause; and mankind make the same use now of the labours of the latter, which they heretofore did of the former. They reason *from* the principles which he, and those who followed in his school, established. If any dispute occurs in physics, it is considered at once settled, when either party traces his doctrine to one of these first principles. The law of Gravitation, the laws of Optics and of Hydrostatics, are as much the *dogmas* of the modern school, as any of the most exploded errors of the ancients were of theirs. *That nature, for instance, abhors a vacuum.* *That nothing is heavy in its own place.* And although we boast of our emancipation from all arbitrary authority; yet, I believe, in practice it would be found, that no man's reasoning would now be listened to, which was inconsistent with those principles. He would be laughed at as a simpleton, or shunned as a heretic. Do not, however, mistake me. The new system is undoubtedly, in every respect, a better built edifice; and it would

be folly to compare it in grandeur, in solidity, in convenience, with that which it has superseded. It will bear looking into in all its parts. It is, moreover, so contrived, as to be capable of boundless enlargement and improvement. And the inhabitants feel it worth their while to employ all their capital in completing, in supporting, in furnishing, and adorning it.

So much for the **INDUCTION** of Modern Philosophy, as contrasted with that of Aristotle. I do not hesitate to join with those who call the one hasty, scanty, and unsatisfactory; the other cautious, full, and convincing. The merit of sagacity, however, I cannot confine to the moderns. Considering the means he had, Aristotle seems to me to have outdone them.

And so much also for the confused notion, that *Induction* has superseded the use of *Syllogism*, or that they at all enter into competition with each other. (Vid. p. 12. of this Pamphlet.)

The method, indeed, of *Induction* itself may be considered as a syllogistic act of the mind, in which the general principle elicited forms the *Conclusion*. The *Minor premiss* states, that a certain property belongs to a number of individuals, which have been examined; and the *Major premiss* (which is latent, and always the same, whatever subject we may be employed about) declares, that whatever property belongs to these individuals, belongs to the whole class of which they are members. Nothing can be more terse or perspicuous than Aldrich's account of it. "In quā ponitur quantum opus est de singulis, et deinde assumitur de universis." I do not like his mode of resolving it into a Syllogism. I think the mode above stated much simpler and clearer.

Now the jut of the question, in *reasoning* by Induction, always lies in the Major premiss. And the imperfection of this method is, that no rule can be given *how many*

individuals we must examine, before we are authorized to consider them as equivalent to the whole class. *Quantum opus est* is vague and indefinite. Hence the Conclusions in Experimental Philosophy are never absolutely certain; at least no line can be drawn, within which we can say the number of experiments is not sufficient, and beyond which the number is sufficient to warrant the Conclusion. A process of that kind may be considered, however, as a sound *Topical Syllogism*; the Conclusion always possessing the same degree of probability which the Major premiss had. Further investigation may lead us to discover the falsehood of that Major premiss, and then, of course, the Conclusion must be abandoned.

There is, however, a species of Induction, which is called *Perfect*, in opposition to the other, which is called *Imperfect*. In *Perfect* Induction the Minor premiss enumerates *every individual* of the class under consideration. Of course the Major premiss cannot be disputed, and the Conclusion is not *probable* only, but *certain*. The Syllogism, in that case, is *Demonstrative*, and is treated of accurately in his latter *Analytics*. This method, however, can rarely be employed. If the class of which we are speaking is a natural species, it is impossible, for their number is unlimited. It may be practised with classes whose numbers are limited, as the planets, the quarters of the globe, the seasons, &c. It is then tedious in form. For if the Minor premiss be established, to state the Major premiss and the Conclusion would be superfluous.

What INDUCTION is in all other subjects of reasoning, that EXAMPLE is in human conduct. It is common to treat the two heads as distinct. They are, in fact, the same process; but the Example is less conclusive, because human conduct is less subject than other things to fixed

laws.* Hence the Major premiss is more questionable, but the form of reasoning is the same. As good a specimen as any is given Arist. Rhet. i. c. ii. §. 7.

All who demand a body-guard meditate tyranny :
Dionysius demands a body-guard ; therefore
Dionysius meditates tyranny.

If the Major premiss is disputed, we must support it by **Induction of particulars*; as, Pisistratus, Theagenes, &c.

Thus diffuse have I been, in order that you may judge how stupidly and confusedly Mr. K. has managed this part. He says, “ Induction pursues two different methods; 1. by advancing from particular instances to a general conclusion; 2. from parts to the whole.” They are, in fact, both the same. The only differences that can be established in the methods of Induction are those above pointed out, viz. *Perfect* or *Imperfect*, according to the number of parts specified; *Induction* or *Example*, according to the subject-matter of the reasoning.

Hence too may be perceived why reasoning by Induction is sometimes called reasoning by Analogy. For Analogy is the resemblance or the sameness of *ratios*. Thus,

$$A : B :: C : D$$

If that proportion be allowed, whatever Relation can be shewn to subsist between A and B, the same may be concluded of C and D. The same Relation may also be concluded of the equal multiples or the equal parts of these quantities. But if we depart from the Category of Quantity, the application of this reasoning becomes less con-

* Such is the proper meaning of the word Induction. Mr. K. I see uses it incorrectly; e. g. “ Induction *from* particular instances to a general conclusion.” This error is pardonable, for it is of no great importance, and he has many to keep him in countenance.

clusive; at least the establishment of the *Proportion*, which is the *Major premiss*, is more difficult. For there may be *one point or several points of Relation* between A and B, the same *with one or several* between C and D. But this will not authorize us to infer that *all* their points of Relation are the same.

Let us try the case above given under EXAMPLE.

Pisistratus : Athens :: Dionysius : Syracuse

The Relation in which they are *known* to agree is, that they each demand of their citizens a body-guard. From this Relation is inferred the *unknown term*, that each does it with the same motive, to establish a tyranny.

No one, when reasoning in morals, is supposed to lay down his Major premiss as strictly universal; or to affirm, that the Proportion is absolute, extending to a similarity in all possible Relations between the respective terms. But we do affirm, when reasoning by Analogy, that the similarity of one or several Relations being known to exist, is a *presumption* or *proof* of the similarity of others yet unknown. And hence, as in the case of Induction, if our Major premiss is disputed, we must support it by enumeration of particulars; that is, by shewing several instances in which the *known Relation* and the *unknown Relation co-exist*; whence we infer the probability, that they are united always.

But I must be cautious how I enter upon this wide field—a field in which I could long expatiate with pleasure, were it suitable to my present purpose, and not likely to repel instead of attracting readers. Let me conclude, therefore, this part with observing, that the writer of *Logic made easy* has omitted to state that which constitutes the chief boast of Aristotelian Logic, namely, that all these methods of reasoning, by whatever name they go,

Enthymem, Sorites, Induction, Analogy, Example, or under whatever disguise of language they may pass, Hypothetical, Disjunctive, Causal, &c. are resolvable into the form of the PURE CATEGORICAL SYLLOGISM. When reduced to this form, their validity is tried by the rules already laid down for MOOD and FIGURE. In one or other of these *Moods* the reasoning, if sound, must find a place. If it be in any of the IMPERFECT MOODS, it may be *reduced* to a PERFECT MOOD. And the validity of the *Perfect Moods* is demonstrable by the immediate application of the “**DICTUM DE OMNI ET NULLO;**” which *Dictum*, therefore, is the *Nucleus* of the whole system.

CHAP. VI.

Sophisms or Fallacies.

Before the time of Aristotle, there was no complete system of Formal Logic, by which the vanities of the Sophists might be convicted and exposed in a summary way. The irregular modes of speaking, continually practised in common conversation, served as a thicket and cover, to which they could easily betake themselves, and baffle all the sagacity of their pursuers. The phraseology in which they expressed their meaning, was sanctioned by the idiom of their language and by general use. Why then, they might say, should they be driven from that mode of speaking, and be made to adopt one comparatively dry, formal, and jejune?

Thus, while they kept to their own way of stating things, the silly were captivated, the stupid were confounded, the wise were often obliged to retire, incapable of exposing them to the contempt they deserved, and to rest satisfied with the consciousness that they possessed

the truth themselves, although they could not succeed in detecting and exterminating the falsehood of others.

It is to Aristotle we owe that *system of arranging words*, by which all possible assertions may be made, and yet made in such a way, that, if any flaw exist in the connection of those assertions, it must become apparent to common sense. *The Pure Categorical Syllogism is that test which no false reasoning can stand.*

And yet this very form is sometimes employed for the purpose of concealing that fraud which it was meant to render impracticable. And truly it *does* render it impracticable, if the laws of the Syllogism be well understood, and rigidly enforced.

The fundamental rule, against which all fallacies of language offend, is, that *the Syllogism must invariably consist of three Terms only, and of three Propositions only*. If any ambiguity exist in one of the Terms, or in the construction of one of the Propositions, that Term is really not *one* Term, but *two* Terms; that Proposition is really not *one* Proposition, but *two* Propositions: and, consequently, the Syllogism having four Terms or four Propositions is *apparent* only, and not *real*.

Mr. Kett gives no such view of this matter. He tells his reader, after the example of all old treatises, that there are six *Fallaciae Dictionis*, and seven *Fallaciae extra Dictionem*, giving a formal list of each. I wish my reader would refer to this chapter, and he will perceive what it is to make Logic easy. Mr. K. sherks the second, fifth, and sixth of the first sort; he gives no notice when he enters upon the second sort, of which he omits the fifth and seventh, and throws the others out of their order, treating the two first, last. The absurdities and mistakes are besides numerous.

Under *Fallacia Equivocationis*, he has this inexplicable nonsense.

" To this cause may be attributed many syllogisms that
 " are faulty, [syllogisms attributed to a cause!] because
 " they have an *anceps medium*; either because the Middle
 " term is taken twice particularly . . . or because the
 " terms of the conclusion are not taken in the same sense
 " both in the premisses and in the conclusion." p. 81.

Old Menedemus exclaimed upon a much slighter occasion,

Quæ sunt dicta in stultum, candex, stipes, asinus, plumbeus,
 In illum nihil potest : exsuperat ejus stultitia hæc omnia.

The true doctrine is plain enough. The Middle term is ambiguous if it be not *once distributed*, just as much as if it be an equivocal word.

Now take an example of *Fallacia Compositionis*. " Because the Scripture says, that as there was a decree from Augustus, that *all the world* should be taxed, therefore America was included." The dulness that could lead him to produce this for an example of *Fallacia Compositionis* is inconceivable, after having himself placed a similar fallacy under *Equivocation*. The term *world* is equivocal; it is not used in a *divided sense* first, and then in a *compounded sense*.

Now for *Fallacia Divisionis*. This, he says, takes place when "that which is *expressed* in a compound sense is *inferred* in a divided one." His own example will run thus :

The Planets are seven:
Jupiter and Saturn are Planets; therefore
Jupiter and Saturn are seven.

Surely every one must see that *Planets*, the *Middle term*, is the word in which the fallacy lies; and yet its second meaning is *inferred*, is it, Mr. Kett? What an unfortunate propensity you labour under, to put the *Middle term* into the Conclusion! Vid. p. 23. Something perhaps

is owing to Aldrich's Latin: "Quando *datum* in sensu
"composito sumitur in diviso;" *datum*, expressed, *sumi-*
tur, inferred! How hard that *popular* treatise is to
construe!

Now for *Non causâ pro causâ*. Having given the example in Aldrich about Astrology, he says in the next paragraph, "A branch of this sophism . . . may be exemplified by the credulity of persons of former times, who maintained, that comets and eclipses were the causes, or necessary forerunners . . . of disasters," &c. The very example already produced. What does this mean? Is it absolute infatuation?

Towards the close of this precious chapter, he says, in substance, p. 87, The best method of avoiding sophistry, is to consider whether or not we are disputing with a sophist; and (what is strangest of all) "to consider whether he be competent to conduct us to the truth he professes to investigate." I do not wonder at his not knowing the difference between *investigating* and *syllogizing*; but as to competency being any criterion of a sophist, Aristotle, if he ever read him, would have taught him better; Σοφίσης μὲν, κατὰ τὴν προσέγενον, διαλεκτικὸς δι, οὐ κατὰ τὴν προσέγενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν. Rhet. i. i. 4.

The last paragraph is perhaps taken from his *Emily*. It has nothing whatever to do with Logic. It is a touch of the *sentimental*.

"The fallacies that have been explained are not those only against which we ought diligently to be upon our guard. There are others that may be more likely to seduce us from truth; such as self-love, unreasonable prejudice, party spirit, pride, indolence, and the various passions of the heart. It is of little use for the student to be a proficient in the rules of Logic, if he submit himself a prey to those enemies to sound judgment," &c. &c. &c. p. 87.

Let us only suppose a Professor of Geometry to address his class, at the close of a course of lectures, in a similar strain.

“ And now, gentlemen, let me observe to you, that the lines and angles you have been considering are not those always which you will have to meet with in the superficies of life. Let me advise you to avoid those curves and spiral windings, in which the ablest Mathematicians have been lost; especially that osculating circle, which may seduce even the wisest among you, and bring after it incalculable mischief. Gentlemen, keep to the rectangle. It will be in vain even that you aspire after the parabola, the hyperbola, or the ellipse, if you suffer yourselves to be tickled by the tangents of low desire. The vertex of the cone, be assured, will be unsteady, unless its base be firm. It will be of little use, &c. &c. &c.”

After this manner, how many pages might be filled! But let me not be thought to insinuate, that the author himself supposed this to be a part of Logic. No. It is a part of the trade. Many a fond mother is captivated by this miserable cant.

Before I quit this subject of fallacies, let me observe, that the ordinary examples are seldom of much use to the learner. The fallacy is too obvious: it is detected already, by being thrown into the form of a syllogism. The real fallacy is such an ingenious mixture of falsehood and truth, so entangled, so intimately blended, that the falsehood is, to use a chemical phrase, *held in solution*. One drop of sound Logic is that test, which instantly disunites them, makes the foreign substance visible, and precipitates it to the bottom. If any one would see a beautiful course of experiments of this sort, let him read Chillingworth against Knot.

" Mr. Kett is but a sorry Chemist in this way. He calls the following a *concealed fallacy*. p. 79.

" Water freezes in Russia, in Germany, in France, and in England; therefore, water freezes in all parts of the world."

CHAP. VII.

Method, and its Application.

From this chapter I shall quote three paragraphs, leaving them to the consideration of those whom they most concern. The first is for the Professor of Botany.

" We may know superficially what plants are; but it is by the information which the study of Botany gives, that we become instructed in the component parts of any one, and distinguish *its respective pointals, stamens, and class.*"

The next is for the Reader in Mineralogy.

" We may likewise have a *vague notion* of a mineral; but it is by the study of Mineralogy we become acquainted with the fourfold division of minerals into earths and stones, which form one class; and salts, inflammables, and metallic substances, which form the remaining three classes. This is analytic method, and is called the method of invention."

The last is for the Professor of Poetry. It may serve to dissipate the clouds of confusion from his lectures.

" In Poetry, some regard to the order of ideas is necessary: even in an ode, the most desultory of all its species, the poet must conform to that arrangement of ideas, which the description of each object requires: without such regard to method, his description will have neither force to strike, nor beauty to charm his readers."

These are given as brief specimens how easy other things, as well as Logic, may be made by a man of true

genius. It is a species of writing, however, which is seldom understood, till we have thoroughly learnt in some other way that subject which is thus facilitated. You will not therefore take it amiss if I advise you to put off the easy method till you have learnt the hard one. I have had some experience in books myself, and I have uniformly met with disappointment from such books as these, whenever I have been desirous of easing my *mind*. On some other occasions I admit their use is great, and the want of them may be truly embarrassing. It is the only consolation which I can offer to the purchasers of the works I have been just considering, and happy may they think themselves that they have this alternative; more especially in the case of treatises on Logic, where nothing but instruction to the understanding is expected. For if they fail in this one object, they have nothing left that can redeem them; and I see no reason why they should not be tried by a law taken from the stern code of Parnassus,

Si paullum summo decessit, vergit ad imum.

PART IV.

CHAP. I.

The Application of Logic to Literature and Science.

I do not mean to say much of Mr. Kett in this part. We differ *toto cælo* in our primary notion of Logic. *He* says, “Logic has Reason for its guide.” p. 96. *I*, on the contrary, have always looked upon Logic as *the guide for Reason*. His notion, however, is perfectly consistent with what he observed of the *first operation* of the mind. [Vid. p. 10, of this pamphlet, where the reader will see as curious a specimen of Simple Apprehension as he ever met with.] As that was *made* for the sake of the first part of his Logic, so *Reason* was naturally enough intended for the whole treatise.

Another point of difference between us is this. *He* says, "The descriptive, the figurative, and the sublime, "are regulated by *its laws*," i. e. the laws of Logic. Now all these matters, according to my notion, are quite out of its jurisdiction*.

Let me now proceed to explain very briefly some of the notions concerning Logic, which have been long familiar to my mind.

In the first place, Logic, as it is generally taught, is rather an Art of Language than an Art of Reason. Its

* As I take my leave here of *Logic made easy*, I may as well give a short account of the rest of that treatise.

In Chap. II. Mr. K. praises Paley highly and deservedly; but I should hardly have expected to hear that it was a rare combination of faculties to be *acute without precipitation, or argumentative without frivolousness*. Such, however, was Paley. His *Evidences*, Mr. K. observes, exhibit *that harmony of parts, in which consists the essence of truth*. He proceeds; "It "is this harmony of many parts, all conspiring to form a grand whole, "which stamp the Christian religion with the *seal of indisputable and perfect veracity*, evince its divine origin, and entitles it to the homage of "mankind." I cannot agree with him, but I am still a Christian.

The Chapter on Locke is the best in the book. He seems really to have read Locke's Essay, although to have read it more from a desire to write about it than to think about it. One ground of his respect for it is, that "it has been published in numerous editions." In p. 104, I fancy I hear some other person's voice, not Mr. Kett's; but I cannot tell whose. That part is plain and sensible. When it is said, [p. 109.] "that the Essay forms "a system of sublime philosophy relative to one of the most curious subjects "that can occupy the attention of the logical student," I am sure I hear him again.

As for the rest, I would advise the reader to stop here. If he is bent upon going on, as I have been the road myself, I can give some directions.

There is a tolerable piece of smooth turf, over which you may canter agreeably enough, from p. 111. to p. 116, done at little expence to the author, as the materials were wheeled in chiefly from the Life of Bacon. After that it grows much worse, till at length you get into very bad galloping ground indeed—a dark, narrow, winding, stony, Devonshire lane, of the author's own mending, with large lumps, such as Metaphysics, Ontology, Psychology, lying in the middle of the way, without any attempt to break them, and the hedges on each side so high and luxuriant, that you know not where you are going. Presently, however, through the boughs, you see some capital letters, which, upon coming nearer, are found to be the sign of the Parish Clerk's house, close to the church-yard gate, where you may dismount. There is an Advertisement at the church-door, which you may read or not, as you please.

business is to make words subservient to the purpose of communicating our opinions and reasonings to one another. In this character alone Logic considers language. It *excludes* all that is addressed to the fancy or the feelings; all that constitutes the grace, the beauty, the variety, the harmony, the elegance of composition. It confines itself strictly to the Understanding. Even those expedients, which the closest reasoners must adopt in practice, in order to gain attention, and to make impression on their hearers, are foreign to pure Logic. It never seeks to please, its sole aim is to instruct.

An argument then, framed according to the strict rules of Logic, would be firm and solid, but if nothing else were added, it would be unfit for use. It is the shell merely, the strong-jointed frame-work, upon which the ornamental, and many even of the useful parts, will be surmounted afterwards, according to the design of the edifice, and the taste or fancy of the architect. Let us not then turn from this necessary though elementary part of literature. If we are too squeamish to handle this cheerless and meagre skeleton, we may talk indeed of the beautiful contrivance of lacteals and absorbents, of nerves, veins, arteries, and muscles; we may admire, and even examine, the texture of that membrane with which the whole body is enveloped; but it will be all *talk*, the prattling of a superficial sciolist, who is for ever liable to place his arteries where his veins should be, his vessels where they have nothing to carry off, his nerves where they can have no sensation, and his muscles where they can have no play. It will be time enough to hide the bare ribs with their decent clothing, when the purpose for which they were exposed to the eye is fully answered: when we shall have acquired so perfect and familiar a knowledge of their situation and use, that the swell and action of the muscles, and the graceful covering of the

skin, shall not hide them from our mind, although the view of them may be intercepted from the eye. To act otherwise is to begin entirely at the wrong end. To attempt to rig the vessel before he sees that her main timbers are sound, is a sort of ship-building of which an Englishman should be ashamed.

Of the various purposes then which Language may be made to serve, the first in order and in utility is that which Logic regulates. This may be placed at one extremity of the series. At the other extremity is Poetry, where language, as well as thought, is made subservient to the production of a refined pleasure. The several gradations of the scale between these extreme points are occupied by the various branches of Rhetoric, taking Rhetoric in its most extensive signification as the art of good writing. To demonstrate the reason of those principles which conduce to the end of good writing, to shew how they depart, and why they depart, from the rigid laws of Logic, is one of the most grateful services which philosophy can render to polite literature. When we measure these anomalies, as they may be called, by that standard, we better know how to estimate their propriety, their congruity, their relative force, and their utility. The doing of this, I admit, belongs to the province of Rhetoric, but without Logic it cannot be done.

There is, moreover, an advantage in this study, more plain, indeed, and homely, but which I mention with a sincere and serious conviction of its use, that it will keep you from writing *nonsense*. Considering how much of the literature of this age, and of every age, is tinctured with that ingredient, I cannot think it a purpose foreign to education, to discipline a young mind in such a way as shall give it a quick perception of so disgraceful a fault: and I am not afraid even of contradiction, when I affirm, that the practice of analysing argumentative passages

into the syllogistic elements of which they are composed, will breed a habit of attention to the solid contents of every thing which is heard or read. Would any man, for instance, who had learnt Logic in the plain way in which it is now taught in Colleges, have committed to paper such a sentence as this? “*By considering the peculiarities of language, the various kinds of words and ideas, the generalization and abstraction of ideas, the nature of definition, division, and method, they [Lord Bacon and Mr. Locke] have shewn that these topics are essential to the consideration of Logic; and that Aristotle, by analysing them with precision, and discussing them at large, formed the most accurate conception of the operations of the human mind, and built his system upon the solid ground of right reason.*” (*Logic made easy*, p. 10.) There are a hundred such passages in the works of the same author; it is the general character of his style. The extracts made by Mr. Davison are chiefly selected by him for the erroneous statements which they contain. If he had extended his criticism to this part, his work must have been more than double its present size.

I will produce one more from the popular novel, entitled *Emily*. A father is recommending to his daughter the habit of self-command; and dates his letter, I believe, *Lorton House*.

“*Self-command exercises its noblest office, when it enables us to maintain the dignity of our nature as intelligent beings, by establishing the empire of reason over the passions.* It renders a person the *master of himself* under all the various circumstances of life. . . . It gives an effectual check to all the vicious propensities of envy, malice, and anger.” (*Emily*, vol. ii. p. 60.) The poor colonel has so little command of *himself*, that he tries the patience of his daughter by this sort of advice, through a letter of thirteen pages.

I cannot afford room for much more. But the critical examination of such works is a useful exercise. Mr. Davison has made the Elements of General Knowledge much more valuable to the world than I ever imagined they could become. He has used them, as the Spartans used a drunken Helot, to shew their rising youth the contemptible nature of that folly. If any thing I have said entitles me to act the part of a serious adviser, let me earnestly recommend you to read that criticism with attention. I am sure you will be repaid. Not only will the different action of the two minds upon the same subject exhibit in the strongest light, by the aid of contrast, the right use of reason, and the perversion or the want of it, but the solid information contained is worth much more than the time you will be required to bestow upon it.

The form of the Syllogism, the varieties of Mood and Figure, every one knows, must be kept out of sight, when he brings his reasoning to bear on the occasions of real life. But is it not thus with every art? Has not a poet embodied the principle in a line so hacknied, that I might have expected it even in *Logic made easy*?

As those move easiest who have learned to dance.

And where is the harm of practising a few minuet-steps of reasoning in a tutor's room, before the student goes forth into the throng of life; especially, since, by a law of Convocation, which I cannot think a very wise one, all our public balls and rehearsals in that way are now suppressed*? After all, we pay no honours to this accomplishment, although we lay great stress upon it.

* I have seen a very elegant poem, written by a Lady, on the occasion of Minuets being stopped at Court, by order of the Lord Chamberlain. It was entitled, "The Death of the Minuet." Might not the Death of the Syllogism give play to some chaste academical wit?

The most expert proficient in the *Form* of Logic has no right to say more than this.

— Vitavi denique culpam,
• Non laudem merui. *

As to the *Matter* of Logic, I cannot bring myself in this *exadiaruz*, to submit to you my present thoughts. On that subject I may, perhaps, one day address you again, when my speculations shall be more settled, and nothing will occur to prevent me from discussing it with that uniform seriousness of manner which belongs to such a subject.

In the present undertaking, next to saving the inexperienced among you from errors which might be deeply injurious, I have been guided chiefly by a desire to take out, if possible, that offensive canker, which corrodes and disfigures us in the sight of the world. For this purpose I have not scrupled to employ all the implements, the most keen and the most caustic, which the school of criticism could furnish. The operation is a severe one; but no other could be of use. I have strong confidence that this will succeed.

My object, I repeat it, is not to starve the author's trade. If he must still continue to extract his *essences* and *cordials*, if he must keep his *distillery* going, let him at least remove it to some place where it will be felt as a less nuisance to the neighbourhood, and in all probability he will thrive. The voice of criticism will be faintly heard at Tunbridge or at Birmingham, or will be drowned amidst the discordant cries of London. But let him not defile and poison us with his fumes. Let him not insult us, by driving his disreputable traffic on, under the very nose of authority. Let him not seek to smuggle his illicit wares through the Clarendon Press, before the eyes of those, whose especial duty it is regularly to administer

the established laws, and to watch over the interests of sound learning.

With such an antagonist I should have deemed it inglorious and degrading to myself to contend, except in what I firmly believed to be a public cause. As a writer, (I will even risk the imputation of arrogance in saying it,) he is entirely beneath my notice. What I hope I have convinced you of is, that as a writer he is equally beneath yours.

Neither is it according with my disposition and habits to engage in the task of severe criticism. There is nothing so perfect which may not be exposed and ridiculed in some of its parts. And there is no employment, in my opinion, more unmanly, more unbecoming a person of liberal education, than malignant carping—prying and *picking holes* in things, which are in the main respectable and useful. The present Pamphlet, I am well aware, would not be proof against such treatment. Of one defect, which it is now too late to remedy, I am myself very sensible—a want of *keeping* in the whole composition. But *Haste*, which is a plea in most cases inadmissible, will, I hope, be listened to, and allowed here.

The first object of my undertaking was to lay an injunction upon a mischief rapidly increasing. Mr. Kett's publication I had not seen till long after the term commenced. Having heard it laughed at, I sent for it; and the first ten pages which I read determined me upon the step I have here taken. There was no time to be lost. My intention was advertised before a word of the Pamphlet was written, in order that the evil might receive some check immediately. In the mean time I have not been idle: but the particular and positive duties in which I am engaged, and which I have no *right* to abandon for the sake of a voluntary service, however important and

pressing in its own nature, have left me only some scanty intervals of leisure for this work. Thus, under different humours and impressions, at short snatches of opportunity, sheet after sheet has been written, and wasted to the press by various gales of feeling : gales, which I admit an Ulysses, under the guidance of Mentor, would not have released from their secret prison, but yet none of which, I trust, has been found so light and baffling, as to interfere materially with my progress ; none so stormy, as to interrupt the steerage of justice and reason.

Here then, if any where, my defence must rest. But my labours are not yet over. This effort, which I venture to hope will not be thought altogether injudicious or unavailing, will probably be followed up by one directed against a different enemy, and provoked by an offence of greater magnitude. If the vile imposture of *quackery* deserves to be scourged and pilloried, the foul lurking fiend of *defamation*, of deliberate and systematic defamatory, must not be allowed to spit his venom with impunity. Whatever may be the strength of that cavern in which he lies concealed, from that cavern he shall be dragged. The enterprise may be hazardous, but the cause inspires me. I have begun, indeed, with chasing a flea; I shall end, perhaps, with rousing a lion.

VELUTI IN SPECULUM;
OR,
A SCENE
IN THE
HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY;
DISPLAYING THE FRAUDS OF NEUTRAL FLAGS,
AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE
CASE OF THE SILENUS.

WITH REMARKS ON

*The Prosecution for Libel instituted against the Author by
ADMIRAL MONTAGU.*

*The Application of His Majesty's Licences; Forged American Certificates;
Injustice towards Neutrals; and Danger of
His Majesty's Dock-Yards.*

ADDRESSED TO MINISTERS AND PARLIAMENT.

By JOHN BROWN,
AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIES OF NEUTRALIZATION.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN an Author writes a preface to a work, his object should be to explain its nature, and the motives he had in view, when he wrote and published it. The writer of these few pages will perform that duty with fidelity.

THE CASE OF THE SILENUS

will be found interesting to few readers, except they are professional men. Officers of the Navy, who may wish to glean a little knowledge of the art of analizing neutral cases, may find something in the correspondence concerning the *Silenus* to amuse, instruct, and mortify them. To the pseudo-neutrals, it will afford a triumph to behold how *dexterously* their Agents managed that very desperate case, in *cutting her out of Court*, when men of ordinary courage would have given her up as lost, and trembled at the thoughts of being sent on such a *forlorn hope*.

Had the Agent been at liberty to have selected his own Proctor, and to have attended the trial, he thinks it would have been *impossible* for the *Silenus* to have escaped condemnation.

For a Naval Commander to be obliged to resort to a privileged Proctor, in cases of neutrals detained at his *own risk*, is a severe and cruel restriction upon the Navy. In cases captured by Admiralty orders, or under the

Enemy's flag, there would be no kind of hardship ; but where the *responsibility* rests solely upon the captor, *common justice* and *common sense* alike demand that he should be allowed to select his own Attorney, on whose honesty, application, and skill, his hopes and fortune entirely depend.

Mr. Brown is but little indebted to the Gentlemen belonging to the Admiralty Court for their indulgence or forbearance. In the case of the *Hoop-Askergreen*, one or two of the silver-tongued orators of that distinguished tribunal publicly accused him of having attempted to *bribe* an interpreter, who was *sworn* to interpret with strict impartiality. The charge was alike false, groundless, and malignant. More recently, in the case of the *Lisette*, it was attempted to *defend* the captors from costs and damages, by imputing *ignorance* of an *Agent's* duty to the person employed at *Dartmouth* by the Captors. That person was Mr. Brown. The *case of the Silenus* will serve to convince the *captors*, in what manner their Agent conducted their cause ; and the gentlemen of the commons may perceive if he understand his *duty* or not. Perhaps if every Agent acted as sincerely for the interest of his principal ; there would be less murmuring in the Navy at the failure of their honest claims. Lest his first letter of November 1806 should have been mislaid or forgotten, he reviewed the whole case anew in a letter to Mr. Bishop of February 1807. This will account for a repetition, which must otherwise appear as highly absurd. A judicious reader will not fail to remark, that in this *Danish* case, not ship, nor master, nor cargo out or home, were of *Danish* origin or produce.

BORSE VON LUBECK.

THIS case is worthy the most serious contemplation of the patriot-statesman. After reading it with due attention,

who can be surprised that the French *kept* Lubeck, or *took* Dantzic? The author has no kind of intention to censure this or that administration. The *abuse* of King's licences is an evil which has for years been systematically growing from bad to worse. May this authentic picture of its folly and baseness prove the humble means of putting an end to such disgraceful application of his Majesty's sign manual. If it be not speedily checked, the *alien merchants*, who *traffic in licences*, will not hesitate to apply the royal authority to the supply of the *Brest fleet* with *gunpowder*, and justify their acts from *regard to the prosperity of British commerce*.

FORGED AMERICAN CERTIFICATES.

WHY should the person who is detected in seducing a common mechanic from our shores be so rigorously prosecuted, while the felon who *forges*, or *applies* American documents of citizenship, escapes unpunished, though he be daily and hourly spiriting away the youth and flower of our seamen? The fruit of his crimes forms in its progress an alarming source of discord between the two empires, and is an evil which imperiously demands an immediate and efficient remedy.

INJUSTICE TOWARDS NEUTRALS IN CASES OF CAPTURE BY CERTAIN SHIPS OF WAR.

IT is with a view to *prevent*, that the crimes of those persons are exposed, who liberate neutrals previous to examinations, in consideration of a sum paid for *ransom*, which is nothing more or less than acts of the basest, and most sordid *piracy*. A few insignificant privateers, belonging to pettifogging attorneys, and tradesmen of faded characters, and smugglers of no character at all, have by practices like these, entailed more odium on the British flag, than the whole

of the royal navy combined. Yet, from the *enviable privilege* they enjoy of employing such Proctors to manage their causes as they prefer, they obtain more condemnations of enemy's property, covered by neutral flags, than perhaps the whole navy combined ! It was never the author's wish to break down the fences which protect *neutral rights*; his only object was to tear away the mask from the visage of the *neutralized enemy*, and see the royal navy, in conducting of its *prize causes*, placed on a footing with private ships of war.

DANGER OF THE ROYAL DOCK-YARDS.

WHEN the steed is stolen, people take care to shut the stable-door. The proverb is not inapplicable to the case under review. There is no nation on earth so attentive to trifles, and so negligent to objects of the very first magnitude, as ourselves. SIR JOHN CARR, in his *Northern Tour*, remarks, that no Englishman was allowed to enter the portals of *Cronenburg Castle*. Is the *citadel* of *Plymouth* shut against Danes ? Is the *citadel* of *Plymouth* of less moment to us, than *Cronenburg* is to *Denmark* ? A man bred and born within a cable's length of *Plymouth-docks*, if he wants to visit them, meets with much difficulty to obtain admission. Yet a legion of enemies are suffered to roam at large, on every side of it, by water or land ; and there are but few portals so well guarded, but a *golden key* will find an entrance. This is stumbling at straws, and striding over mountains with a vengeance ! So much for the miscellaneous contents of this pamphlet, which, whether it be *well-timed*, is certainly *well-meant* ; and now for a few words relative to

ADMIRAL GEORGE MONTAGU.

THAT gentleman is now prosecuting the author for a libel relative to *naval abuses*. The celebrated author of "WAR IN DISGUISE," 1st edition, page 181, says, "*It is highly disadvantageous for an accused, but much injured party, to stand wholly on the defensive; and, in a case like this, it tends perhaps to give colour to the accusation in the eyes of indifferent judges.*" This quotation may perhaps apply to Admiral Montagu, as well as Mr. Brown; all he insists on, is, that a long series of unprovoked aggression on the part of the admiral's secretary, urged Mr. Brown, in an evil hour, to write the letter now prosecuted as a libel. The author does not hesitate to avow, that he did wrong in expressing his feelings in such vehement terms. But his mind was smarting under the sense of recent injuries, and he was besides instigated by the arts of an *attorney*, who not only approved of every sentence, but took charge of it himself, and *dispatched it by an express* to overtake the Ashburton post-boy. This *same attorney* served on Mr. Brown the first notice he received of the pending prosecution. Mr. Brown never gave a copy to any mortal, till Admiral Montagu himself spread it abroad. Thus far the Admiral has the vantage ground, and he might *drop the prosecution* without leaving any triumph to his opponent.

Admiral Montagu deposes, that directly after he received the letter in question, he transmitted it to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. They were the very gentlemen with whom Mr. Brown *intended* to have communicated, but for the disastrous interference of the Attorney in question, whose *ambi-dexterity* has just been displayed.

Perhaps, even Admiral Montagu himself had been better advised, if instead of commencing this formidable prosecution

under the wing of the Admiralty, he had coolly demanded of Mr. Brown *what proof he could adduce* in support of the assertions made in his intemperate letter. No doubt but many of the abuses complained of at Portsmouth are *unknown* to Admiral Montagu; and if, on inquiry, he had found Mr. B— had any foundation for his complaints, he might, with honour to himself, and advantage to the service, have vouchsafed him redress. At all events he could have instituted the present process with more than all the *eclat* he now enjoys.

THE SECRETARY.

IF he considers the circumstances in which *his conduct* has involved himself, he surely does not repose on a bed of roses. The writer has been credibly informed, that he lately appeared to labour under an uncommon *depression of spirits*; to manifest unequivocal symptoms of a conscience-stricken mind! If so it be, may a beneficent Providence complete its gracious purpose, and, before he be called hence, inspire his heart with true contrition for his manifold transgressions, that the repentant sinner may save his soul alive!

London, 9th June, 1807.

VELUTI IN SPECULUM,

&c. &c.

CASE OF THE SILENUS.

" Dartmouth, 13th Nov. 1806.

" CHARLES BISHOP, ESQ.

" SIR,

" AGREEABLY to my letter of yesterday, I now proceed to send a brief statement of the case of the *Brig SILENUS* of Altona, and her Cargo, captured * on the voyage from Sene-gal to Tonningen. The Prize-Master's affidavit will explain the fact of material papers having been withheld or concealed, with other interesting particulars of this case.

* By his Majesty's *Brig Dapper*, Lieutenant PRICE, Commander.

" THE BRIG SILENUS,

" Now navigating under Danish colours, was formerly called the *Nancy* of *North Yarmouth*, built in 1801 at that port, was captured by the *Contre-Admiral Ma'gon*, sent into Harlingen, condemned at Paris, sold as a prize by public auction, and bought in by a certain *Jacob Petersen* for 7000*l.* on account of *Frederick Nicholas Dede* of Altona; but as the amount is simply said to have been paid in *specie*, and not in *bills* drawn upon *Dede*, or any banker or correspondent of his, it has the external mark of a simulated transaction, whether it be a genuine one or not.

" NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE MASTER.

" Reyner Tonnis Smit cannot deny that he is or was a Dutchman; he speaks or writes nothing else. His burger-brief is dated in 1799; but the slightest examination will prove that this instrument itself was printed since the commencement of the present century, and is *ante-*

dated. He says his wife and family reside at Altona; but the letters from his brother, *Jan Smit*, found amongst the papers withheld or concealed, dated 27th and 30th May, 1806, 3d and 6th June, furnish a contrary conclusion. On the 28th May his wife sat off from Altona to Haarburg. On the 6th June a letter arrives from her to *Jan Smit* at Altona, being *one day* more than time enough for her to have reached *any part of Holland*, not farther than Amsterdam; and the letter of the 6th June from *Jan Smit* to his brother, master of the *Silenus*, and inclosing his wife's letter, the word *Vrouw* has been erased, and *Broeder* written over it. The false and ante-dated burger-brief is farther shaken by the positive facts, that in 1804 he was first mate of the *Potsdam*, Saayers master, covered by *Geodelman of Emden*, under the Prussian flag, and bound to Surinam. Since the present war, this same *Dane* was first mate of the *Resolutie*, *Wildeboor* master, captured on her voyage from Surinam to Rotterdam. He was 27 days a prisoner of war at Plymouth. He

says his private adventure of 2000 pounds of coffee was condemned.

"EVASION OF THE BLOCKADE OF THE ELBE."

"The whole outward cargo of the *Silenus* is declared by the *Certificate* of neutral property, dated the 9th June, *to have been shipped* by the house of expedition, Messrs. Donner and Co. of Tonningen, on account and risque of *George Simon Dede*, of Altona, brother to the owner of the brig; but by reference to the letters from George Simon Dede and Frederick Nicholas Dede, it will appear that the whole of the outward cargo (no part of which was *Danish produce*) was *sent in schuyts* through the wads *direct to Captain Smit*, and put on board the *Silenus* *from these same schuyts WITHOUT having been in the POSSESSION* of Messrs. Donner and Co. Her charter-party is dated 16th May. The certificate from the English Consul is dated 23d May. In this certificate, whether it was by accident or design, the brig is only estimated at 72 tons. Thus, being chartered in the Elbe, and the cargo

sent from the Elbe, by the owner of the ship as well as of the cargo, and DIRECT TO THE BRIG, it may perhaps be in the power of His Majesty's Advocate to consider this as *a breach of blockade*, since the cargo, as before stated, *proceeded from the Elbe*, and does not appear to have ever been laden at Tonningen.

" COLOURABLE DESTINATION.

" While her ACTUAL departure from a *blockaded river* was to an *enemy's colony*, she *appeared*, by her papers, to be destined from an open and neutral port to any part of the coast of Africa. But a very superficial examination of the documents, journals, and letters found on search, will disperse that disguise, and prove that her *actual destination* was to a *French colony* from the hour of her being chartered. The examination of the fourth witness, the only one on board that was in her, before the voyage commenced, proves that her last voyage was to Senegal, and her return cargo was *gum*. Her outward invoice mentions 15 bundles of *empty sacks*, and

the cargo of the brig is *contained in those sacks*. Not only that, the journals and letter book will prove, that on the arrival of the Silenus at Senegal, and even *before* the master had set his foot on shore, Captain Kehlner came on board, who by a singular chance, if it was a *chance*, belonging to the same concern as the Silenus, and who seems to have *directed* all the master's actions, while at Senegal. From the hour he quitted Falmouth, he held his *direct course* to Senegal; and his brother's letter, of the 30th May, 1805, contains as follows—“ I would most gladly have sent you a *chart* of your voyage from the *Canaries* TO SENEGAL, but it is not to be procured for any money.” Here are not any *written instructions* amongst the papers, for the captain to be regulated by, nor letters of introduction to any house at Senegal, or elsewhere. Thence, from the comparative ignorance of the master, it is more than possible, *it is very probable*, that he was actually consigned to some person at Senegal, who was empowered by the principals, *whoever they are*, to furnish him

with a *return cargo* of gum. In both of the journals kept by the master it is written, “on, · “ or about the 8th August, at Senegal, that the “ *Ablader** came on board, and ordered the cap-“ tain to prepare to receive the *gum* on board.” And what goes much further towards proving this to have *really* been the case, is the assertion of the master to his freighter, George Simon Dede, in a letter from Penzance, dated 18th October, 1806, in which he writes—“ Captain Kehlner and Mr. “ Schuler TELL ME, I have *no occasion* to write “ about matters here, as *they* have communi-“ cated to you every thing necessary to be “ known about the state of your affairs at “ Senegal.” This is certainly a *strong fact*, and utterly inconsistent with the character of *mer-
chant* and *supercargo*, bestowed upon the master in the papers.

“ THE CORRESPONDENT LIST.

“ The Correspondent List contains the names

* *Lader* or *Deliverer*.

of *seventy-nine* merchants, inhabiting the various cities of Europe, America, &c. Of this number *one*, and *one only*, is a *Danish* house, at a Danish port ; 15 are *English*, 8 *American*, and 42 *French* or *Spanish* ! If any inference can be drawn from that, it would not be favourable to the *neutral character* of the vessel as a *Dane* ; the correspondents at Marseilles are Detlef Dede and Co.

" SECRET INSTRUCTIONS.

" Mr. George Simon Dede, in his letter of the 30th May, 1806, to the master, then at Toningen, informs him he is desirous of *speaking to him*, concerning his *ulterior voyage* *, and requests him to travel per post waggon, so as to be at Voskaat by a certain day, there to meet Mr. Christian Detlef Dede, who wishes also to see the captain, and *speak with him*. The captain went accordingly ; and in his account of expences, written with a pencil, he mentions

* The charter-party was dated May the 16th.

returning from the *Dedes*, and spells the name with *two ees*, as it stands in the List, “*Deede.*” Now, should this Christian *Detlef Dede*, who *met* the captain with Mr. Simon Dede, prove to be the *Detlef Deede* of Marseilles, then the whole mystery will be unravelled, and the French interest in this concern fully made out. Again, Jan Smit mentions to Regner Tonnis Smit, in his letter of the 30th May, that his employers had engaged a *supercargo*, who was going a journey with Mr. George Simon Dede; this supercargo no where appears. In support of *private instructions* having been given, the master’s copy-book may be invoked, in which, on or about the 18th October, from Falmouth he writes to Gotfrey Feifs and Co. that both the brothers had given him VERBAL ORDERS to run into the ELBE *if it should be free!* Which orders certainly are in *direct opposition* to all the documents of the ship and cargo.

“ THE RETURN CARGO.

“ The master states, in *all* his letters to his

owners, that he could get nothing but gum for his cargo, and *only* 60,000 pounds, and 275 dollars in cash. The same declaration he has made publicly ; yet, in his accounts with *Mr. Duriceau*, of *Senegal*, he admits to have received from that gentleman 103,000 pounds of net gum, out of which, *for want of cash*, he paid his expences. How he paid for the additional 43,000 does not any where appear ; but his manifest and bill of lading mention 95,000 pounds of gum BOUGHT IN*, and SHIPPED *by himself*, and to be delivered to his *own order* at Tonningen, on account and *risque* of *Mr. Dede* of Altona !

“ Now this manifest and invoice is utterly at variance with all his other letters and memorandums. In a leaf of his pocket-book, where entries of the gum are made, stands as follows, 7th or 8th page ; viz :—

* See Mr. Brown’s Letters to the King’s Proctor, in this Case, dated 18th and 21st March, 1807.

" 8th August. Received net weight

32,236 lb.

27,762

59,998

35,002

95,000 pounds net weight.

" Now it appears that the *two* first quantities come within *two* pounds of 60,000 weight; while the remaining 35,002 is entered *alone*, nor would any thing have been known of Mr. Duriceau, but for the discovery of the papers, &c. found by the prize-master, in pursuance of orders *to search*. There is also a letter in French, written, as the master declares, by the brother-in-law of Duriceau at Senegal, which is well worthy of attention, from the ambiguous nature of its contents, and the *fear he feels* of speaking of his *occupations*. That letter was *not sealed*, but it was also *not signed*, nor any place of abode added to the superscription. The remarks might be carried much further, but time does not permit. They

arise out of the papers themselves, and I doubt not but the most serious attention will be paid to this case, notwithstanding the extreme haste of the claimant's agents, to get her restored!

"I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

"At Wm. Hockin's, Esq.

"Dartmouth,

(Signed)

"J. BROWN."

"CHARLES BISHOP, ESQ.

"SIR,

"Dartmouth, Feb. 21st, 1807.

"SILENUS, SMIT.

" AS I have reason to expect that this case will speedily come to a hearing, I take the liberty once more to address you thereon. The present disposition of the Court, which is any thing rather than *lenient* towards captors, induces me again to state the principal points of a case, which, *at any other time*, I should have esteemed as *very* favourable to the captors.

"NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE MASTER.

" The master is a Dutchman, and has not the least right to be considered as any thing else.

" The document, No. 20, is the attestation that R. T. Smit, *on the 25th April, 1799, became a Danish subject.*

" This paper was most evidently *ante-dated*. It was printed since the year 1800, for the *printed* figures 18 are yet legible, though written through. They are most visible on the reverse side. If in England a person attempted to prove that a letter or document was written in the early part of 1799, and the *water-mark* should indicate that the *paper itself was not made till after the year 1800*, it would certainly invalidate the credibility of the witness.

" Smit's Citizenship is exactly a case in point. The attestation, dated the 25th April, 1799, declares that R. T. Smit *has become* a Danish subject, &c. but the *printed date* proves that *at that time*, the paper itself was certainly not printed, perhaps not manufactured !

“ The 27th Interrogatory applies to this point. The master must have been conscious that the *attestation of citizenship* was a *colourable* and *ante-dated* paper ; yet he *swears* it was *true, fair, and genuine.* The first interrogatory applies to his residence ; his residence was in Holland at the time of capture ; there his wife and family resided ; and yet *he swears* that they resided at Altona !

“ In 1801 he was first mate of the Resolution, Wildeboor master, under the Dutch flag, captured on her voyage from Surinam to Rotterdam, sent into Plymouth, and condemned. R. T. Smit was sent on board the Salvador-del-Mundo, as a *Dutchman* ; he got out as *Dane* ! But every man the least conversant with the Maritime Laws of Holland, knows that in *time of peace*, no man but a *Hollander* is allowed to visit their colonies in a *Dutch ship*, either in the capacity of *master or mate* !

“ I next trace this Dane to the Potsdam, a Prussian ship, of 800 tons, of which he was *first mate*, in the year 1804.

“ By the *Prussian* maritime laws, before a mariner is allowed to sail from a *Prussian* port as *master* or *first mate*, he is obliged to assume the appearance at least of a *Prussian* subject, and produce a *real* or *simulated* burger-brief, or attestation, to prove that he is a *Prussian* subject!

“ The letters from his brother, particularly that dated June the 6th, give the strongest indications that his wife returned to Holland, when he sat off for Tönning. Not only does the time *exactly* correspond with that required for a person to arrive at Amsterdam, but the letters are sent *off from*, and they arrive at *Altona*, on the precise days of arrival and departure of the *Dutch post*.

“ In the letter from his brother Jan Smit, dated 6th June (as above mentioned) the word *Vrouw* is erased, and *Broeder* written above. There could be but one reason for it, which must have been the desire to do away the fact of his *wife's residence in Holland*.

"BREACH OF BLOCKADE BY EGRESS.

" In the case of the *Vrouw Judith*, *Volkerts Master*, on the 17th June 1799, Sir William Scott made the following observations relative to "*a breach of blockade by Egress*," Vide, Robinson's Reports, Vol. 1. page 152. " Now " with respect to matter of BLOCKADE, I must " observe that a blockade is just as much " violated by a vessel passing outward as inwards. " A blockade is a sort of circumvallation round a " place, by which all foreign connection and corre- " spondence is, as far as human force can effect it, " to be entirely cut off. It is intended to suspend " the entire commerce of that place, and a neutral " is no more at liberty to assist the traffic of expor- " tation than of importation. The utmost that " can be allowed to a neutral vessel is, that having " already taken a cargo on board, she may be at " liberty to retire with it. But it must be con- " sidered as a rule which this court means to ap-

"*ply, that a neutral ship departing, can only take a cargo bona-fide purchased and delivered*, before the commencement of the blockade; if she afterwards takes on board a cargo, it is a fraudulent act, and a violation of the blockade.*"

"The *outward cargo* of the *Sileneus*, and of which the *return cargo* is, or is sworn to be, *the proceeds*, certainly comes in every point within the meaning of the foregoing definition of a violation of blockade by egress: her charter-party was dated at Altona the 26th May, 1806. The blockade took place on the 23d April preceding. Permission to withdraw *in ballast* was given by the English Consul on the 23d May. Thus it appears that they did not venture to sign a charter-party until the vessel had got permission to withdraw. She then withdrew to Tonningen, but only *to receive on board* the Cargo then lying either at Altona or Hamburg, but I am most inclined to think the Cargo *lay at* Hamburg. This cargo is then put on board of lighters by Messrs. Dede, and

* Of course delivered on board.

the master of the lighter carries a letter from Messrs. Dede, *to the master* of the Silenus, in which he informs him, that he has sent him such and such articles, and gives him directions about throwing out the ballast, and taking in the goods *immediately from the lighters*, without taking the smallest notice of, or referring the master to *Messrs. Donner and Co. the asserted shippers of the outward cargo.*

“ The answer to the 11th and 22d interrogatories should be carefully compared with the translation of the letters from Mr. Dede to the *master*, relative to the taking on board the outward cargo.

“ Taking it then for granted, that the blockade was violated by egress, it is next to be considered in how far the return cargo of the Silenus, the proceeds of the outward cargo, is affected thereby.

“ The outward cargo consisted of iron, blue-bafts, or Bengal cottons, wine, beer, &c. This was exchanged at Senegal for 60,000 or 66,000 pounds of gum. Thus, if the brig and her cargo, of iron, cottons, &c., was liable to con-

demnation for breach of blockade by a *fraudulent egress*, surely the 60,000 or 66,000 pounds of gum, and the brig are yet liable to the same penalty. Indeed the *Silenus* was *captured*, and sent into Falmouth, by the *Betsey* privateer; but released on account of *its appearing* by the papers delivered, that she had sailed from *Tonning-en* bound to the *coast of Africa*. She might not have been released, if it had appeared that her cargo was sent *direct* to her from Altona, and her destination *direct* to the French colony of Senegal.

“ Thus, in addition to the violation of the blockade of the Elbe, she sailed with a *colourable destination*. Her charter-party declares she was bound “ to the coast of Africa and further,” yet her sole and absolute destination was to Senegal ! Her sole and absolute duty there was to *bring back* a cargo of gum. The sacks in which the greatest part of that gum now is, were sent out in the same vessel. In case the Elbe should be found shut, the *Silenus* was to have gone into Tonning-en, and the gum was to

have been sent on to Hamburg, though Hamburg should have been found in a state of blockade, in the same way, and by the same means, as the outward cargo was conveyed *from* Hamburg on board the Silenus at Tonningen.

“ The copies of the letters found on search, prove that the master received *private instructions* to sail into the Elbe, *if he could*. The destination on the return voyage was just as vague or simulated, as the destination on the outward voyage. The master repeatedly declared, that the only object of going into Tonningen was to send the cargo on to Hamburg, in case the Elbe should be found *blockaded*.

“ The captain’s letter, dated 18th October, states in *positive terms*, that he could only get 66,000 pounds of gum for his cargo ; and even from that quantity must be deducted a sufficiency to cover his local charges. Yet his *bill of lading* acknowledges to have received 93,000 pounds *neat weight*.

“ Not only do the master’s letters and books testify this important fact, but he voluntarily

declared the same before witnesses, from whom I could, if necessary, procure affidavits. To whom then belongs the surplus-gum invested in the *Silenus*, to the amount of 35,000 pounds neat weight, *above the whole proceeds of the outward cargo?* Doubtlessly, to some *French merchant* or officer of Senegal. Perhaps to Mons. Duriceau's *brother-in-law*, whose ambiguous letter is calculated to excite so much suspicion.

" The blue bafts, or Bengal cottons, were confessedly the most valuable part of the outward cargo. One-half of the Bengal cottons, according to the declaration of the *first mate*, written in the coarse or ordinary log-book, on Thursday the 7th of August, were *rotted and spoiled*, viz.

" Went ashore to overhaul our cargo, and of " the 21 bales, we found 10 which were fit to " be counted on as merchantable goods; the " others were decayed, rotten, and utterly " spoiled."

" In his account-book, the amount of his outward cargo is estimated at 36,919—8 marks-

banco, of which sum total, 1,244 pieces of blue bafts, in 21 bales, come to 24,880 marks ; being something more than two-thirds the whole value of the *invoice*. These eleven bales, containing at least 600 or 650 pieces, are declared by the mate to be *utterly spoilt and unsaleable !* Yet, in the captain's log, only 3000 pounds of gum are allowed to the receiver of the outward cargo for the *ruinous condition* of the eleven bales. The captain's journal says, in terms less strong and candid, but more qualified and guarded, that from No. 12 to 21, the " bales were much " damaged by wet, &c. ; and to prevent the " bargain from being *broken off*, he was forced " to allow 3000 pounds gum."

" If the captain procured 65,000 pounds of gum for his invoice of the whole outward cargo, the amount of the Bengal cottons made two-thirds of the value, and more than the *half* of those cottons were, as the mate expresses, " *totally ruined and spoiled,*" he ought at least to have allowed 12,000 pounds of gum therefor.

" But the great probability is, that these

accounts are *altogether* false and simulated. The captain appears to have been merely *a machine*, moved about at *Senegal*, by *Messrs. Kehlner and Schuler*. For the proof of which, see the *letter-book* of the captain, and the detached copies of his letters, in one of which, dated 18th October, written at *Penzance*, he writes to *George Simon Dede*, the owner of the cargo, that he could obtain *no more* than 60,000 pounds of gum, and 275 Spanish dollars in cash, for his outward cargo; that he had given an invoice or bill of lading to the captain of an *American schooner*; that *Mr. Schuler and Captain Kehlner* had desired him *not to write to Mr. George Simon Dede*, about *his affairs in Senegal*, as **THEY HAD ALREADY WRITTEN TO HIM EVERY THING NECESSARY FOR HIM TO KNOW.**

“ This passage sufficiently proves, that *Mr. Dede* is deeply embarked in the *Senegal* trade; and that by those persons, rather than by the master of the *Silenus*, the sale or disposal of the outward cargo, and the *investment* of the return cargo, was transacted.

“ When the French letter, which is not signed, was found in his pocket-book, the master seemed *much agitated*, said it was *unsealed*, it contained *nothing* of importance, and wished to have it back again, as he gave his word to deliver it on his arrival. Afterwards he said it was written by a relation of Duriceau’s. I think no one who has leisurely and carefully examined the whole of this case, can feel the least doubt, but that all the gum above 60,000 pounds neat weight was shipped by Duriceau, either on his own account, his relations, or perhaps the governor, or some officer of the garrison. All the fees and custom-house duties are paid to those persons in gum ; and no doubt they would prefer to send the gum to Europe by a secure opportunity *on their own account*, than sell it for a trifle in the island.

“ If the master was called on to explain the various entries of gum, his additions and subductions, I think he would be utterly confounded by the task.

“ Yet, like the needle towards the pole, all his

vibrations tend towards the 60 or 66,000 pounds of gum, received for his outward cargo. For, exclusive of the different letters abovementioned, there is an entry in his pocket-book, on the 7th and 8th pages from the beginning, which proves clearly, that the 60,000 and the 35,000 pounds are *separate* and *distinct* concerns. *Vide* page 7, 8th August :

Received neat

| |
|--------|
| 32,236 |
| 27,762 |
| 59,998 |
| 35,002 |
| 95,000 |

Received from

| | |
|----------|--------------------|
| Kehlner | 3 br. (or letters) |
| Stuurman | 1 br. (ditto) |
| Schuler | 3 br. (ditto) |

“ Now, when the master was interrogated at Dartmouth, to know how he had disposed of

those letters, he replied that he had sent them away from Penzance. This I believe you will find confirmed by the contents of the prize-master's affidavits. Perhaps, could those letters have been secured by the captors, every proof needful to establish the above observations might have been found therein.

" In the correspondent list is the name of Detlef Deede and Co. of Marseilles ; the journey of the master to Itzehoe, to speak with, and receive instructions from a Mr. Detlef Dede, brother to George Simon Dede, I shall now pass over, having in my former letter sufficiently expatiated thereon.

" In contradiction to the prize-master's affidavit, the master will perhaps declare he did not intend any concealment of material papers. But amongst the papers delivered up, is a list, in the master's own hand-writing, of his papers, amongst which this list is marked No. 1 ; and No. 7 is the order of release for the *Silenus*, after having been detained at Falmouth in June 1806, on her outward voyage. This

paper permits her to proceed to the coast of Africa ; but not a word is mentioned of Scnegal, her actual and sole place of destination.

“ To return to the certificate of neutral property attested by Messrs. Donner and Co. Here is proof positive that 35 tons of Swedish iron never passed through their hands, were not shipped by them ; and the letter mentions that the rest of the cargo was to be sent in the same way. That document is thus *completely falsified*, and the whole concern is but a web of fraud, and woven with no uncommon skill. I shall here cease my remarks, with observing, that if this property be restored, *I shall almost despair* of ever meeting with a case where condemnation is to be expected. And if, contrary to every reasonable hope, she should be restored, and the whole of the captor’s expences not allowed, I have to request, on the part of the captors, that an appeal be lodged against such sentence.

“ I am, &c.

(Signed)

“ J. BROWN.”

"SILENUS.—SMIT, MASTER.

"CHARLES BISHOP, ESQ.

"SIR,

"Dartmouth, 17th March, 1807.

"THE master of the Silenus told me last night, and the Danish consul confirmed his assertions this morning, that he, the master, in the further proofs advanced in this case, had sworn, and I believe the *whole of his people also*, that *he took* the surplus gum, exceeding the quantity for which he sold his cargo, *from out of another vessel* belonging to Dede, then lying in the river Senegal!

"If you please to refer to the 6th page of the master's account book, you will perceive that the master gives credit to Duriceau, and to no other person, for 103,000 pounds net weight of gum, according as the entry specifies, to an *agreement* made on the first of August; and then, by various disbursements, he reduces that quantity to 95,000, for which he signs a bill of

lading (this document asserts that the master *bought* the whole of the cargo himself) which is placed amongst the papers given up on demand; whilst every paper which *contradicted* this false statement was *found by search*, after the vessel's arrival in this harbour. By this entry in his books, the surplus gum is stated in common with the whole cargo, to have been received of Duriceau, agreeably to *contract*, in barter, for the outward cargo; but certain letters, found also by search, prove that he could only procure 65,000 pounds for the whole, which, after disbursements, left only 60,000, and the 5,000 surplus gum was received at Senegal on freight.

“ If you please to refer to the translation of Jan Smit’s letter to the master of the *Silenus*, (his brother) dated June 2d, 1806, you will find the following sentence :—

“ I believe, with you, that if God grants you
 “ a prosperous issue to this voyage, that you
 “ will get into a path which will lead to for-
 “ tune.” Thence the master would naturally,

by every practicable means, endeavour to extricate the property, which is certainly French property ; but if, after a regular entry made at Senegal, in his own book of accounts, he enters it to *Duriceau's* credit, and afterwards, *in direct opposition to his former oaths, and his own handwriting*, he is to be believed that he received it from Kehlner—it will be useless for *captors* to look for condemnation, except in captures made under the *enemy's flag*.

“ The chief employment of the Dedes, in foreign commerce, is in the favoured traffic of neutralizing. I could produce a clerk, from Hamburg, of unimpeachable credit, who, if he pleased, could prove, that such is the reputation of the Dedes at Altona ;—that their employers are mostly French ; and that he took to them a bill of sale himself, of a vessel for *Dede* to neutralize, and that but a few months since.

“ Upon the most serious deliberation, after the most mature examinations of this case, I am so thoroughly convinced of the justice of the captor's pretensions, that I request an appeal.

may be lodged, in the event of restitution of the whole property of the *Silenus* and her cargo.

“ As soon as it is determined whether Admiral Montagu is at liberty to control his cruizers, and obligate them to send their detained vessels to Spithead, or not, I shall put in my security as agent, either for Portsmouth or Dartmouth, accordingly as that decision may happen to be.

(Signed)

“ J. BROWN.”

—

SILENUS, SMIT.

“ CHARLES BISHOP, ESQ,

“ SIR,

“ *Plymouth, 18th March, 1807.*

“ CONFIRMING my letter of last night, from Dartmouth, I have to remark, that not a word is mentioned in any letter or paper given up to the prize-master, at the time of the capture, or afterwards found on search, relative to any gum having been taken out of Kehlner's brig. What answer did the master give to the

interrogatory, "where, when, and how" did he get the gum on board? The man who interpreted was Peters, and the master got on shore, and was seen with Peters previous to examinations.

"There was, no doubt, plenty of gum to be got at Senegal on freight. The master, when speaking of the *Freundschaft*, Kehlner's brig, and the mate also, frequently called her a Dutch brig! I had so strong an opinion that the cargo was French property, from the way in which Kehlner is mentioned in the master's letters, that I gave directions to several cruisers to send her in, if they fell in with her on her passage home. Smit enters into his account books any little money concerns which passed between Kehlner and him at Senegal, yet not one word is mentioned about the gum. In one letter, written from Penzance, Smit writes to his owners, that both Kehlner and Schuler desired him not to write to Dede, about his affairs in Senegal, as they had done it. Why did they do it? Because, no doubt, they thought they

could conceal the French interest more dexterously than Smit could ; but not a word is said of his having taken 35,000 pounds of gum from out of Kehlner's vessel. In this case, I think the captors have a right to look for condemnation.

(Signed)

" J. BROWN."

—
SILENUS.

" SIR, " *Doctors' Commons, 18th March, -1807.*

" On the other side hereof I send you a copy of the King's Advocate's opinion, upon the further proofs of the ship and cargo ; and I request to receive the captor's directions.

" I am,

" Sir,

" Your most humble servant,

" *John Brown, Esq.*

(Signed) " CHAS. BISHOP."

" DARTMOUTH.

(Copy.)

SILENUS, SMIT.

HIS MAJESTY'S ADVOCATE'S OPINION.

" I am of opinion that the *further proofs* cannot be objected to *with success*, except so far as respects one moiety of the ship, stated now to belong to one *Jarvis*, of which still further proof may be required; but I think it would be more for the interest of the captors to consent to restitution, upon payment of their expences.

" J. NICHOLL."

SILENUS, SMIT.

"CHARLES BISHOP, ESQ.

" SIR,

"Plymouth, 21st March, 1807.

" I DULY received your favour of the 18th,
and have perused the opinion of the King's
Advocate. Not having had any opportunity of
seeing the master's depositions, nor the proofs

adduced by the claimants, I have nothing to guide my judgment, but the papers delivered to the captors on seizing the Silenus, and those afterwards found on search; and the most rigorous investigation I could effect of those papers makes me believe it a simulated case; in which belief every subsequent circumstance has confirmed me.

“ Sir John Nicholl observes he has read the proof, and sees no hopes of *contesting them with success*. The archives of our Admiralty Court groan beneath the ponderous weight of the prodigious and innumerable volumes of elaborate *perjury*, brought in to sustain the fraudulent claims of sordid and perfidious neutrals. And I think I might safely aver that of all the desperate attempts a neutralizer ever made to rescue the property of our enemies from condemnation, that none can be found to surpass in impudence the proofs adduced in the case of the Silenus.

“ In his own principal account book, the master states that he “ received *all the gum*

"from Monsieur Duriceau!" Every document relative to the gum sustains that entry. The master's log-book does the same; there is not any where, any paper which I have read, which relates to his having taken gum from Kehlner, and if the master's oral evidence is to be admitted in direct contradiction to the evidence of his own ledger, and that too, found upon search, I think our concession-loving-ministry had much better have thrown down all the barriers which oppose the frauds of neutrals at once, and declare that free ships make free goods, than suffer his majesty's faithful mariners to be so tantalized! for if the gum shipped by Duriceau above the proceeds of the outward cargo, be not French property, then never was French property covered by a prostituted flag or perjured neutral! The whole case is one tissue of fraud from beginning to end, and till my statement of the cargo be contradicted, and I find that the master does not pretend that he took the surplus gum from Kehlner, or any one but Duriceau, I will not give consent to restore on

any conditions short of a fair compensation for the surplus-gum; and even on that condition, with the guilt of a direct breach of blockade on their shoulders, and a colourable destination, they might think themselves handsomely treated."

" I believe Jarvis is an American who used to trade to Bengal: he married Miss Dede."

(Signed)

" J. BROWN."



" RESTORATION OF THE WHOLE CARGO !

" *Doctors' Commons, 23d April, 1807.*

" SIR,

" SILENUS, SMIT MASTER.

" THIS cause yesterday came before the court, when the same was very fully and ably argued by the King's advocate and Dr. Lawrence, on behalf of the captors, and the judge *restored* the cargo, subject to the payment of

the proportion of the expences, but ordered still further proof to be made of the property of the ship, there being no attestation from Mr. Jarvis, one of the owners. I inclose you the copy of a note I have received from the claimant's proctors, to which I request your reply, unless you should think it more for the interest of the captors to *wave* the still further proofs of the ship, and consent to restitution thereof, upon payment of the *whole* expences, which his Majesty's advocate and Dr. Lawrence are of opinion it will be.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ John Brown, Esq. ‘ (Signed) “ C. BISHOP.”
“ DARTMOUR.



“ SILENUS.—SMIT.

“ Messrs. Townley and Son present their compliments to Mr. Bishop, and acquaint him

that it is intended to sell the cargo in London, and they request his consent to a commission of removal of the ship issuing; observing that the claimants are ready to insure 1200*l.* as the full value of the ship, and to deposit the policies in the registry."

"*Doctors' Commons,*

"*22d April, 1807.*"

"CHARLES BISHOP, ESQ.

"SIR,

"*Weymouth, 28th April.*

"CONSIDERING it to be useless as well as oppressive to persist in this cause on the ground of an *informality* or *error* in the proceedings of the claimants or owners, I accede to the full restitution of ship and cargo, on payment of all the expences actually incurred by the captors,

"I am, Sir, &c. &c.

(Signed)

"J. BROWN."

" SILENUS, SMIT MASTER.

" *Doctors' Commons, 30th April, 1807.*

" SIR,

" I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favour respecting this ship, and I request you will immediately furnish me with the account of the captor's expences, in order to enable me to settle this case finally with the claimant's proctor.

" I am,

" Sir,

" Your obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

" W. ROTHERY,
" For King's Proctor."

" John Brown, Esq.

" Weymouth.

JUDICIOUS APPLICATION
OF
HIS MAJESTY'S ROYAL LICENCES.

BUONAPARTE declared England to be in a state of blockade. Nothing but a naval power adequate to the end in view was wanting to carry it into complete execution. The public were led by the daily prints to hope that ministers were about to put forth the strength of the kingdom, and by cutting off the coasting, and colonial trade of France, to avenge the multiplied wrongs which she had endured from the scandalous violation of maritime neutrality. But when the "*order in council*" of the 9th January appeared, the nation turned from the thing with disgust; it was a mouse brought forth by a mountain in labour! Few officers could understand it; and some mistakes, which Mr. B. rectified, were committed through misconstruction, which might have subjected the

parties erring to very serious consequences. Just as dark and obscurely worded was the “order in council” for the blockade of the whole line of coast from the Elbe to Brest. It was that bullying, contemptible, and empty order, which furnished Buonaparte with an *apology* for his modest decree of general blockade. We blockaded a line of coast more than a thousand miles long; but we left open *every port* to *neutral vessels* carrying *neutral property* as were open before it passed; the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe excepted!

The Borse von Lubeck, Rohde master, was probably the *first* capture made by any of His Majesty’s fleet, under the order in council of January 9, 1807.

Lieutenant Codd, commander of His Majesty’s gun-brig Liberty, captured on the 15th Jan. off Berry Head, the above vessel. She was bound to Lubeck, and sailed from Plymouth for that port, after the blockade of Lubeck to vessels coming from an enemy’s port was publicly known. Her original port of departure was

Bourdeaux ; her cargo white wines and brandy. She was detained by one of Mr. Teed's privateers on her voyage to Lubeck, on suspicion of being French property, and restored by the Court, subject to the Captor's expences. This very restoration, subjected as it was to the whole of the expences, was proof decisive that the Court did not deem the case a fair one. After her restitution, she lay a considerable time in Plymouth harbour. Nor did she sail till two days after the arrival of the Royal Gazette at Plymouth, containing the order in council of the 9th preceding.

It is certain that she was not warned against proceeding to Lubeck before she sailed, farther than by a knowledge of the order in council. She was sent to Dartmouth, and consigned to Mr. Brown as agent for the captor. He stated the case to the King's Proctor. The King's Proctor laid the case before the King's Advocate. The King's Advocate gave an opinion, that she did not come within the meaning of the order in council ; but that Mr. Brown should

endorse her papers, and direct the vessel *not to proceed to Lubeck*. This was done; the papers returned, and expences paid. The next day, or the day after, Messrs. Arthur Holdsworth and Co. sent a letter to the agent, inclosing a licence under the King's sign manual, directing that the Borse Von Lubec should be permitted to proceed to *Lubeck!* which city was at that time the *head-quarters* of the *French hospital!* This licence was granted in direct violation of the order in council, which professed to have for its object to make reprisals on the enemy! Messrs. Holdsworth requested Mr. Brown to cancel his endorsement, which was subsequent to the date of the licence. This was refused, on the ground that it could not possibly be the intention of His Majesty's government to supply the wants of the French army, that they might be the sooner able to take the field, and give battle to our august allies! Lieutenant Codd came into port at the crisis, and he endorsed the ship's papers anew, *warning* the master to discontinue his voyage to Lubeck; but away she sailed with

a King's licence to protect her, either to Lubeck, or perhaps directly up the Vistula to Thorn! When the master found he really was to have a licence, he could not conceal his amazement. "*You Englishmen do any thing for money,*" said he, "*you be worse den de Dutch, who at the Siége of Bergen op den Zoom, sold the powder and the ball to the bc-sieger!*" Language like this, and even more degrading to the dignity of our government, were the remarks this man of Lubeck made, on such an application of a *Royal Licence*! Neither arms, clothing, ammunition, nor any articles whatever, could have been sent to Buonaparte's army in Poland, half so acceptable as this 250 tons of white wine and brandy! Thinking the administration would pay some attention to a subject so important to our allies, Mr. Brown stated the case to Lord Howick: but, with that administration, concession to neutrals of every class was the order of the day.

"There is something so base and sordid, so stupid and selfish, in the sale of licences to car-

ry on the trade of *the enemy*, that it should be made penal to apply a licence to any other object than the supply of this country with articles of necessity, which could not otherwise be procured ; and then the utmost care should be taken that the ship and crew be really neutral ; for in nine cases out of ten, where licences are *sold* to the *Dutch* and *French agents*, the ship belongs to the enemy, as well as the cargo ! The revenue raised by the sale of His Majesty's sign manual must be enormous ! But, did the ministers hear the infamous expressions made use of by the foreign masters of vessels, most of whom are in the interest of the enemy—expressions so contemptuous towards our sovereign, whom they dare to asperse, as deriving profit for his royal signature, the torrent would surely be reduced within more moderate bounds ! Who is it that enjoys the profits of the sale of licences ? It must be a charming commerce ! but certainly, the gold, in too many instances, comes from a most dishonourable source. It is, however, quite in character with those sordid souls

who insure *enemy's property* under a fictitious warranty of neutrality ; and in case of capture by British cruizers, *contend* in the admiralty-court, not merely *to rob* the captors of their prize, but to plunge them in ruinous costs and damages, for having *dared to molest* their unnatural and treasonable traffic ! The more effectually to elucidate the case of the Borse Von Lubeck, the agent will give the whole correspondence, as it took place. Perhaps a hundred cargoes more were sent off in the same magnanimous way, to aid our enemy in the hour of peril !—Can any one wonder why the Russians did not expel the French from Poland ?

No. I.

" SIR, *H. M. Brig Liberty, at sea, 15th Jan. 1807.*

" I HAVE this day detained the brig De Borse, from Bourdeaux to Lubeck, laden with wine and brandy ; Berry-Head, N. E. by N., 5.

leagues; which I have sent for your inspection, with all the papers.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"— Brown, Esq. (Signed) " JOHN CODD."
" DARTMOUTH.

MR. BROWN TO LORD VISCOUNT HOWICK.

"Dartmouth, 19th Jan. 1807.

"LIEUTENANT CODD, commander of H. M. Brig Liberty, has detained and sent into this port the 'Borse Von Lubeck, bound from Bourdeaux to Lubeck, laden with a cargo consisting of white wine and some brandy.

"She was detained in November, by a privateer of Plymouth, on suspicion of being French property, but was restored by the Court, on payment of the captor's expences.

" Lieutenant Codd sent her in, on account of

her destination, and the recent order of council, within the meaning of which that officer thought she came:

“ If I detain her with a restitution on board, without any fresh evidence to offer, to prove her enemy’s property, the captors will be liable to costs, damages, and demurrage. If I release her, not any *British cruizer*, according to the letter of the Order in Council, can legally detain her *again*, except she be taken in the *very act of entering the port of Lubeck*, or of some other such port! Thus, my Lord, a cargo, at this juncture, far more desirable to the enemy than a *cargo of arms or ammunition*, must be permitted to sail to the very mouths of the *hostile ports*, before the capture can become legal, and when she arrives there, it is ten thousand to one if there be any *cruizers* to make prize of her!

“ In this predicament, to save the captors from expences, I have, with all respect, presumed to apply to your Lordship for directions how to proceed. I am, &c. &c.

(Signed)

“ J. BROWN.”

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO MR. BISHOP.

BORSE VON LUBECK, ROHDE.

Dartmouth, 22d January, 1807.

" LIEUTENANT CODD, of the Liberty G. B. sent her in, on account of the blockade of Lubeck. On Monday morning the 12th instant, the copy of the Order in Council in the Gazette, appeared in Plymouth. On *Tuesday* the captain acknowledges to have heard of it, and says he applied to his agents for advice, who advised him to proceed to Lubeck. On *Wednesday* he sailed, and was sent in, because he did sail for Lubeck, the blockade being known. The agents for the claimants imagine that his last port of departure being Plymouth, that his French outset is done away. I think directly the reverse, and that the high prices such a cargo is likely to bring at Lubeck, is the cause why he put to sea for Lubeck, after he had heard of the blockade. His log-book bears testimony of the cause of his detention being the blockade of Lubeck, and he does not deny the

knowledge of the blockade, but says he was told it did not apply to his case.

“ I am, Sir, &c. &c.

“ J. BROWN.”

—
“ BORSE VON LUBECK, ROHDE.

“ SIR, *Doctors' Commons, 24th January, 1807.*

“ I DULY received your favour of yesterday's date, respecting the above vessel, and on the other side send you a copy of the King's Advocate's opinion, together with an account of the expence on obtaining the same.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your very obedient servant,

“ W. ROTHERY,”

“ John Brown, Esq.

“ for King's Proctor.”

(*Copy.*)

BORSE VON LUBECK, ROMDE.

HIS MAJESTY'S ADVOCATE'S OPINION.

“ THE master having come into a British port, previous to the Order in Council, and having received no direct warning to discontinue his voyage, might so naturally suppose that he did not come within the prohibition, that I have no doubt the court would not proceed to a condemnation.

“ I advise, therefore, that the vessel be released, but that a *warning* be written on one or more of the *principal* papers, directing the vessel to *discontinue* her voyage to Lubeck, and *not to proceed to any port belonging to France or her allies*, or so far under their controul as that British vessels may not truly trade thereat.

“ J. NICHOLL.

“ *January 24th, 1807.*”

" SIR,

" 26th January, 1807.

" I HAVE this day received an answer from the King's Proctor, with the opinion of Sir John Nicholl, on the case of the Borse Von Lubeck, Rhode master. Upon payment of captor's expences, I am ready to give up the papers, and release the said brig.

" Yours, respectfully,

" J. BROWN."

" Arthur Hunt, Esq.

" Consul for the Lubeck Flag at Dartmouth.



COPY OF HIS MAJESTY'S ROYAL LICENCE.

BORSE VON LUBECK.

" GEORGE R.

" GEORGE THE THIRD, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to all Commanders of our ships and privateers, and

all others whom it may concetn, greeting.
Whereas it has been represented to us, on behalf
of Messrs. Heyman and Co. that the Lubeck
ship Borse Von Lubeck, Rohde master, bound
from Bourdeaux to Lubeck, was detained and
sent into the port of Plymouth; and having been
restored, proceeded on her voyage; but being
again detained, and sent into the port of Dart-
mouth, has been a second time restored, and
now bound on her voyage to Lubeck, the ori-
ginal port of her destination; but that they are
apprehensive she may be again molested. We,
taking the premises into our royal consideration,
are graciously pleased hereby to direct the com-
manders of all our ships of war and privateers
not to interrupt the said vessel, but to suffer her
to proceed with her cargo on her voyage from
Dartmouth to *Lubeck without molestation.* Given
at our court at St. James's, the 26th day of
January, 1807, in the forty-seventh year of our
reign.

“ By His Majesty’s command,

(Signed)

“ SPENCER.”

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO CHARLES BISHOP ESQ.

BORSE VON LUBECK.

“ IN this case, agreeably to the advice of His Majesty’s Advocate, I endorsed the principal papers, warning the captain to discontinue her voyage to Lubeck, &c. and released ship and cargo. On Saturday evening the claimant’s agent sent me a Royal Licence, and the proof of restitution by your court. The licence was dated 26th instant ; my indorsement the 27th. I was desired to erase the date, which I refused to do, without an order from the King’s Advocate ; and Lieutenant Codd happening to be in port, with a captured smuggler, endorsed the said papers anew, and thus that matter rests. I requested in my last, that you would be pleased to forward to me your demand for taking opinion, &c. that I may discharge the same.”

BORSE VON LUBECK, ROHDE.

“ ARTHUR HUNT, ESQ.

“ SIR,

“ 31st January, 1807.

“ HAVING acted in strict conformity to the instructions of His Majesty's Advocate, and the order in council, in endorsing the papers as they now are, I cannot think of making any erasement, but by order of the same authority by virtue of which I made the endorsement in question; and pardon me for adding, that I firmly believe that the royal licence has been obtained through *unfair* representations of the cause of her second detention. Lieutenant Codd being now in port, has countersigned the endorsement.

“ I am, Sir,

“ With due respect,

“ Your very humble servant,

(Signed)

“ J. BROWN.”

AMERICAN TREATY.

IT is generally understood that the American government refused to ratify the treaty formed under the auspices of Lord Howick, on account of some disputed points relative to the *impressing* of *American* seamen by British cruizers. The author of “*War in Disguise**” is of opinion, that most of the seamen impressed by British cruizers, from out of American ships, are British subjects *neutralised* by American citizens. Perhaps America is less to blame for the immense loss which England annually sustains of the youth and flower of her seamen, than is generally supposed. At all events, the following observations on “*Forged-American-Ship-Papers*” may throw new light on that delicate subject, and if properly attended to by those in power, instead of widening the breach by idle recrimination, may soften asperities on both sides, and point out the mode to prevent such complaints for the future.

American ship's papers have been forged in

* 1st Edit. pages 118 and 119.

London, Dartmouth, Dublin, Waterford, and Guernsey. At this time it is supposed that the principal manufactory is at *Guernsey*. From thence the ships of Holland and France are supplied with those pernicious documents, as well as the ships belonging to a few dashing merchants, and the smugglers of our own country. Many of the Dutch West-Indiamen, belonging to Rotterdam, are covered by such papers, and carry on their trade as Americans. The Merchants of Bourdeaux do the same, and plenty of Americans are to be found to take the command, who, by marriage or connection, are become inhabitants of the countries to which the ships belong.

By the smuggling act of 1805, the *limits* were extended to 100 leagues, for the seizure of spirits in small casks. What was the subterfuge of the smugglers? They sent out their ventures in *whole pipes* or *pieces*, as it came from Holland, or France. They then cleared out *foreign*, either to *Lisbon* or *North Bergen*; and, under the pretext of want of water, or provisions, or repairs, they are at liberty to run into

port, or to come to anchor wherever they pleased. They purchase for this profitable trade, old prize vessels, of considerable stowage, and small value. They next, by the aid of a set of *American* forged papers, assume the *American flag*. These papers are so well forged, that it is alone by contrasting them with *genuine* papers, that the imposition can be discovered. With the more material documents, bearing imitations of the great-seal of America, and the signature of the president, there are given a number of *blank-certificates*, for the neutralization of the seamen: these bear an imitation of the seal and signature of the collector or officers of the American ports, whose duty it is to grant such vouchers to the sailors of America, and the names, &c. are filled up as the purchaser pleases. In smuggling voyages they seldom employ the same crew more than once or twice, for fear of detection; thus, as many seamen become lost to this country, as they neutralize. The first wish of a sailor is to be protected against the impress. With a *certificate* of American citizenship, he

becomes protected. It may be asked, *do not* the American consuls *know* the forged from the *real* documents? I should suppose they *may*—but it would be a stretch of generosity scarcely to be expected from them to counteract ourselves, and save our seamen in despite of our own delinquency. When the sailor presents his certificate for inspection, and demands a passport or further protection; to the few common place questions which are put to him, he has his answers ready prepared. By these, and similar means, thousands of our best seamen are annually lost to this country. The very high wages, which the flourishing state of American commerce obliges the ship-owners to pay, operates as another thing to entice our seamen to their service, and, perhaps it would not be going too far, to aver, that of the *able seamen*, employed in the *foreign commerce of America*, *one-half* are *British subjects*.

Though the language is the same in America as in England, there is a certain something in the voice, gesture, and features of an American,

which, to a discriminating mind, verifies more forcibly for his national character, than a hundred *certificates* armed with wax, and formal signature could do. Many of our naval officers, from a long habit of boarding American vessels, acquire that discriminating power ; and from off an American deck, sometimes bear away one or more *neutralized* English subjects. It is also possible that other officers may fancy that they possess the discriminating power, and do actually impress *American* seamen. Now, admitting that our officers never did impress any but *British* subjects, yet, as those men have documents to produce, to prove that they *are Americans*, and as the *seamen themselves* would in nine cases out of ten, *swear* any thing in support of their assumed character, the chance is greatly against the officer who impresses, in being able to justify his conduct to the world. Sometimes it happens that relatives, friends, or acquaintance on board the impressing cruizer, recognize the quondam Briton, who, detected past the possibility of denial, declares that he procured *in*

America those false papers, upon which he first launched himself upon the sea as an American. The reason of this is quite obvious: he is told by the smugglers, or others who furnish him with his first *forged certificate*, that he is himself liable to a heavy punishment if it be detected that he attempted to screen himself by a forged document. Hence, in all cases, true or false, the detected persons always lay the crime of their neutralization to the door of the American.

The writer is by no means prepared to deny that the Americans are not guilty of the practices imputed to them. All he insists on is, that it is infinitely more wicked in *Englishmen* than in Americans, and he firmly believes, that *more seamen* are lost by the application of *forged certificates at home*, than by all the arts practised by all the Americans.

In whatever point of view the consequences of these crimes are beheld, it presents an alarming aspect. In the first place, the very act of boarding a neutral ship and taking away the people, disguise it how you may, is an act of

warfare. And however clear it may be to an *Englishman* that the impressing officer was right in his selection ; yet, from the great advantages which result to the Americans from the evidence of the man impressed, his documents, &c. such acts are beheld by neutral nations, as acts of *tyranny*. The French, who never neglect any opportunity of attainting the character of England, publish distorted representations in the American papers, and inflame almost to madness the passions of that people. Unfortunately there is in America a *French faction* who, fanning the embers of discontent into a flame, hear with raptures of every event of this nature, and though perfectly satisfied of the falsehood of such assertions, they hold us up to execration as the *cowardly oppressors* of an unarmed nation, as the unprincipled tyrants of the sea.

Of all the neutral nations which have ports and commerce, the great majority of their masters, mates, and mariners, are more or less unfriendly towards Great Britain. Perhaps the

grand source of that enmity exists in *their fear* of being detected in their *illicit commerce* with the enemies of England. Smugglers think it scarcely *a crime* to shoot a revenue officer. Yet the officer is employed in an honourable duty, the smuggler in the perpetration of a crime. Thus it is with neutrals and our cruizers; and the consequence is a general, and increasing animosity toward the British flag: but of all nations, the most violent in their declamation are the *Americans*. Perhaps the reason is, that they sin against us most. The *neutralised* British seaman, ambitious to imitate, and to sooth and gain the confidence of his commanding officers, seizes every occasion to vilify his native country. Is the vessel boarded by a British cruizer, perhaps he weakly thinks he can *bully* through it. Hence, the most insolent of the scamen is frequently found to be the disguised Englishman. The officers detect him, and take him away. But the master and people declare, that he was impressed from motives of revenge, because *he dared* to declaim

against British despotism, and not that they suspected him to be a British subject. Thus in every point of view, England is the *suffering nation*, whilst the *neutral world* abet Believe us in the exercitation of unwarrantable sovereignty on the seas, which they anxiously look forward to see brought down.

The price of a *complete set of American papers* at Guernsey, is about *five pounds*. *Certificates* for seamen can be purchased for half-a-crown or five shillings each. In one case which occurred where the writer had the *forged document* in his own hands, the owners were directed to make up a simulated journal from America to Naples, and Naples to Guernsey. Vessels so covered have traded to *America itself*, taking the precaution to avoid the port to which the vessel is pretended to belong.

The class of people who make greatest use of these forged papers, are the smuggling merchants. A man whom avarice can lead so far as to fit out *armed smugglers* to give battle to His Majesty's revenue vessels, is capable of any

piratical acts. They send their vessels under the *American* flag to the ports of Holland, France, or Spain ; and is it too much to say that so they can but get money they would undertake any thing ? Nothing would be found too desperate for their consciences, if the gain be found in proportion to the risk.

America is every hour increasing in injury and ill-will towards England. The more England concedes, the more she may. To be *respected*, it is not enough that a nation be *just*—she must be *firm* and *resolute*. Mr. Jefferson would not have shewn *so much of the hero*, if our late ministers had not displayed *too little* of it. The writer gives them full credit for the purity of their intentions ; but most assuredly their *conciliatory* measures would have produced effects exactly the reverse of what they hoped for and expected.

The *impressing* of *American* seamen seems now to be the bone of contention. The American has no right to *decoy* our seamen by *stratagem* into their service ; we have none to *seize by force*

the sailors of America. The foregoing facts, which the writer can prove to be such, exonerate in a great degree from blame, both the British officers who impress, and the Americans who complain.

This country makes too free with neutral rights, and not free enough with neutral frauds. It is devoutly to be wished that this subject should be investigated before a Committee of the House of Commons. By thoroughly understanding the nature of the disease, an adequate remedy might be found. Any measure short of that will only add fuel to the flame. The writer knows that American forged papers have been seized by His Majesty's cruizers*, and sent to the Admiralty or Doctors' Commons. No notice was, however, taken of the fact; nor will any thing short of parliamentary investigation be of the least service. The writer dismisses the important subject with again observing, that *more seamen* are lost to England by the *forgery of American papers* at home, than what are decoyed into the *American service in America*.

* In British vessels.

REFLECTIONS ON THE TREATMENT OF NEUTRALS BY PRIVATEERS.

AS the majority of the masters of foreign ships are but pseudo neutrals—either “*enemies in disguise,*” or enemies from the nature of their traffic, they naturally express anger at the exposure of their misdeeds. Not so with the really neutral masters, ship-owners, and merchants. Those men are impoverished by the arts and abuses which enrich the neutralizer. Can any one doubt but freights would have been twice as high under the Prussian flag, had it not been so grossly prostituted? It is a positive fact, that when the French government laid an embargo on the ships of Prussia, Paapenburg, Kniphuy-sen, &c. that a deputation was sent to Paris from the merchants of Holland and France, proving that *nine-tenths* of those ships and cargoes were the *bona-fide* property of merchants of France and Holland. And the memorial on the part of the Dutch was seconded by all the influence of

the King of Holland. Would not the French and Dutch merchants have been necessitated to have *freighted* Prussian or other neutral vessels, if the Prussian court had not suffercd its flag to have been so scandalously abused by sordid and immoral traders? The fact is that the owners of Prussian shipping were almost ruined by the neutralizers, whose daily perjuries were so numerous and horrid, that it was of itself enough to draw down the heaviest vengeance of an offended deity.

While the baleful influence of that nefarious traffic met the Prussian ship owners in every part of Europe, what was its effect upon the ocean? Upon an average there were *ten* neutralized to *one* real Prussian. Thence the cruizers and privateers seized all without distinction, and as the author has fully demonstrated in a former work, the neutral was more likely to suffer than the neutralized.

For as long as our High Court of Admiralty holds it a fundamental rule, that the *oath* of the witnesses, and the *form* of the papers, shall bc

sufficient to establish their legality, all moral distinction between simulated and genuine papers is done away. The guilty and the innocent are put on an equal footing. The *enemy* laughed at us for treating him as a friend—the *neutral* execrated us for treating him as an enemy.

In the exercise of the right of detaining neutrals, great irregularities have been committed ; not by his Majesty's ships or vessels, but by private ships of war, and particularly those belonging to Plymouth and its vicinity.

Yet even of the Plymouth privateer-owners, there are some which should not be included in this censure. Those who know the different classes of owners, will at once be able to discriminate. There are several persons of fair and honourable repute, who fit out privateers, and the writer never heard of any complaints against them. Like master like man : the character of owners and agents is a correct index of the conduct of the commander.

In many instances the owners of those pri-

vateers gave orders to the commanders to send in any neutrals they fell in with, with the design of extorting a sum of money from each by way of ransom, for liberty to proceed upon their voyage. The ransom was greater or less, according to circumstances. By these *piratical* exploits, the clamours of neutrals of all nations were excited against His Majesty's flag, and so far was this practice carried in the years 1805 and 1806, that certain privateers, which never got a single ship or bale of goods condemned as prize, paid off all the expences of their outfit, and made very considerable gain by *ransom*, even to the amount of several thousands. And the venom of these misdeeds fell chiefly upon vessels *really neutral*; for if any flaw, however trivial, appeared on their papers and documents; if the least glimpse of suspicion could be fastened on the case, the agents or owners of the capturing privateer always took examinations, and proceeded against the property, under expectation of a *condemnation*, or at least to obtain an order

to *land* or *sell* the cargo, which in many cases they could make almost as advantageous to them as a condemnation. It is true that the neutral masters knew they might get the liberation of their ships by a process in the Admiralty Court ; but all neutrals are infinitely more afraid of contending with the proctors for privateers than the proctor for the man of war. The agent for the privateer is generally the principal owner : he employs such proctors as he pleases, and of course always selects the man on whose talents and integrity he has the most perfect reliance. Not so with the commanders, officers and crews of His Majesty's ships of war. With or against their will, they are *compelled* to resort to one proctor, who is called the *King's Proctor*. On this man the hopes and fortunes of the captors entirely depend. Though he were ever so negligent, there is no redress to be hoped for, and the agents are not always faithful to their principals. From these united evils is not the chance of justice to His Majesty's cruizers much diminished ?

At least these are the causes *why* neutrals had so much rather be captured by King's ships, than *privateers**.

From this cause, the masters of neutrals detained by *privateers*, fearful of the proctor discovering some informality in his papers ; fearful of a ruinous delay, of a loss of a market, or of favourable winds, prefer to give the agent a ransom of one or two hundred pounds, and go at once to sea, than to lay idle in port, and trust their fate to the glorious uncertainty of the law ; *nowhere* so uncertain as in Doctors' Commons !

INJUSTICE TOWARDS NEUTRALS.

WITH the most perfect conviction of the neutrality of many ships and cargoes, which the *privateers* detain, the owners and agents fre-

* The hardship of this monopoly to the navy is *extremely great*; its *impolicy* is not less striking ;— and if any other *naval abuses* are to be investigated in the House of Commons, besides those imputed to Earl St. Vincent, the exercise of this oppressive privilege is one of the first magnitude, and should be most rigorously scrutinized.

quently prosecute their claims merely to have the *cargoes* taken out—where, by the fabrication of the most extortionate and monstrous charges for warehouse-rent, labour, expences, &c. frequently *five times more* than is really paid, they contrive to be gainers in several hundreds, be the sentence of the court what it may. If they be condemned in costs, they *directly appeal*, and the neutral owners, sooner than pay a heavy premium for bail, were always glad to pay the whole expences of the capture, than wait the protracted decision of the appellate jurisdiction.

When neutrals are boarded at sea by His Majesty's cruizers, or by privateers, and the ship's papers are taken away, it is seldom indeed that any receipt or acknowledgment is given for them. With the commanders of King's ships, it is omitted from not giving a thought to the impropriety of the omission; with some privateers it is the offspring of *design*. Suppose, for instance, that a prize-master, seizing in a hurry the papers of a neutral, should be villain enough

to burn or destroy a *material* document, the master might not be able to prove the fact, and the safety of the property might be endangered. It is very generally reported at Plymouth, that a certain *sanctified* privateersman has been guilty of this, and even more iniquitous transactions!

Would it not be an act of justice towards all neutral nations, to oblige, indiscriminately, the officers of His Majesty's navy, and the commanders of private ships of war, to mark and number every document, letter, or paper taken away ; and to describe, in one or two words, its nature, or description, as, Register, No. 1. Muster Roll, No. 2? This should be done in the presence of the master, mate, or supercargo ; and one copy should be left on board, and another be sent to the agent with the papers.

And, in all cases where papers are sent, without being marked or numbered, but merely sealed up, to the agent, that agent ought not to open the same, but in presence of the actuary, or some notary-public, who should mark every

paper, and bear witness that no other papers than those he marked were delivered up by the prize-master.

No one who has not been abroad, can believe how bitterly this country is declaimed against, on account of the abuses, which, through a long lapse of ages and absence of all reform, have crept into every department connected with prize-causes.

Owing to Admiral Montagu, on the 19th January, 1807, having blockaded the ports of *Dartmouth* and *Torbay* against the entrance of His Majesty's cruizers under his command, the *Dap-*
pergun-brig sent into Plymouth, consigned to Mr. Brown, as agent, the *Clyde*, an American ship, laden with Dutch and French colonial products, and bound to Amsterdam. Amongst the letters found on board this vessel, were discovered some official dispatches from *M. Evertz*, the naval-commandant at Curacoa, to the Government at the Hague. They were inclosed in an *envelope*, and addressed to a merchant.

Owing to the *blockade* of Dartmouth, the agent was obliged to leave her in the hands of his *substitute* at Plymouth. There was nearly a bushel of letters from China, the East and West Indies, and America, mostly addressed to persons in Holland. After examining the ship's documents, Mr. Brown gave orders she should proceed, on payment of her port-charges. Some delay occurred ; and on his arrival at Plymouth, fourteen days afterwards, he found the letters and papers in the parlour of his substitute, in a *large open basket*, at the mercy of every servant who might please to have lit the fire with them. Yet there were some bills of exchange of 10,000*l.* each, and in the whole, probably two or three hundred thousand pounds property thus carelessly disposed of. They were neither marked or numbered, or any account taken of them.

Though there was much suspicion attached to part of the cargo, Mr. Brown was glad to get clear of this capture by bearing the captor's expences. The writer believes such to be the line

of conduct adopted by the *bad class of privateersmen*, in every case which drops in their hands. It cries aloud for remedy.

It is also a common manœuvre to demand money for the translation of papers, which cost not a farthing to the agents, not having been translated.

They hire sheds, cellars, and warehouses, and stowing therein the cargoes, that are ordered to be landed, charge such enormous rent, as eats up the property in a year's time, except it consist of articles of great value.

They make *one* ship-keeper look after a whole tier of neutrals, and they charge every ship with a ship-keeper, and sometimes, in their accounts, double the price of the *wages*.

They have boarded neutrals in the *harbour*, and then demanded twenty or thirty pounds for *their trouble* in returning their papers.

It is useless to go further. Here is sufficient matter of fact to justify a parliamentary investigation, if any member can be found honest

enough to bring the question forward on the broad basis of the public good. And too much is already exposed, if no such independent legislator can be found to move for investigation of these abuses.

REFLECTIONS.

THE DANGER OF THE NAVAL MAGAZINES, FROM THE RESORT OF DETAINED NEUTRALS AT PLYMOUTH.

AS long as the merchants and inhabitants of neutral countries disgrace themselves by following the infamous profession of neutralising, they will ever be found most inveterate towards that country, by whose cruizers their speculations are most annoyed. That country is ours. Against its prosperity, the morning prayers and the evening vespers of the neutral mariner are impiously addressed to his creator. Individuals, and whole nations are alike apt to indulge in

the greatest and most invincible hatred towards that individual or that nation, which has been the victim of his or their crimes. Yet should Providence, in his wrath towards a guilty world, decree the fall of the British empire, what would be the result towards those nations so loud in their clamours against our sovereignty of the seas? Do they suppose that Buonaparte would *respect* their spurious and polluted documents? Would it be sufficient in his admiralty-court, that a master-mariner, black as night with endless perjuries, should swear that *spurious* papers were *true* and *genuine* ones? Would he, by such base engrafting of perjury on deception, restore the captured vessels and cargoes? Would he suffer *his* judges to declare, that although a neutral merchant was guilty of perjury in *ten* *claims*, it should not prevent his being heard in the eleventh? Would he shut out and exclude all manner of evidence, but what could be derived from the spurious papers themselves, purposely manufactured to answer the ends of fraud?

The neutrals, in their unprincipled animosity towards our flag, resemble certain fanatics in Friesland, of whom it is said, that refusing to contribute towards the repair of a dyke, they involved themselves in litigation with the Dyk-Graaf, whose prerogative it was to levy the needful contributions. Meanwhile a heavy flood arose, and surmounting the dilapidated dyke, totally swept away the discontented boors, their families and lands !

Such would be to neutral nations the *effect* of the annihilation of the navy of England. It is the last dyke which protects them. The contribution they refuse, or murmur at, is the liberty of search, and right to blockade. If by their folly and their crimes, our navy falls, they are lost. There will be, perhaps for centuries to come, an end of *neutral flags* and *neutral frauds* ! The *world* would be Buonaparte's.

It is the hate and enmity of the neutrals which render the strictest precaution needful in the disposal of their ships after they are detained.

Due care, however, should in all cases be taken to diminish as little as possible their personal liberty, convenience, or ease.

Whole fleets of detained neutrals are thoughtlessly and unwarily sent into Plymouth, and deposited in the *Catwater*, sometimes in *Hamoaze*. The masters, mates, supercargoes, are let ashore to go where they please, and to act as they please, even with *more freedom* than they would be allowed in their own ports. They ought to be regarded with scarcely less of suspicion and mistrust than though they were prisoners of war, when deposited in the immediate vicinity of our principal naval depot. But *why* are they there deposited? is the question.

Of European flags, the Danish is now the rallying flag of neutralization; and in proportion as its baleful trade increases, England becomes detested. Nothing can exceed the dark and bitter malice with which most of the Danish masters express their hatred towards England. Those who understand the northern tongues,

hear them openly in the streets of Plymouth, at their quarters, and even when walking on the fortifications of the citadel, inveighing against our country, and praying for its subjugation.

Many persons imagine that this hostile spirit proceeds from remembrance of the attack made by Lord Nelson on their capital. It may be partly true ; but the fact of *three-fourths* of all the *Danish* shipping being engaged in the *carrying trade of our enemies*, and in the *protection* of their property from capture or condemnation, is no less helpful to increase their antipathy and dislike. Many Danish ships, for years in succession during war, never once visit a *Danish port*. They monopolize the coasting trade of France ; and what may be termed the coasting trade of France, they carry on almost exclusively the trade between France, Spain, Holland, and Italy. By means of this constant intercourse, they insensibly become enamoured of the people, manners, laws, and domestic habits of France, which they regard as the govern-

ment of Spain, Holland, and Italy. Their attachment to Denmark lessens and declines from day to day. And in the same proportion as their love of country vanishes from the mind, attachment to France takes its place. Should the day ever arrive when the Prince of Denmark finds himself at war with France, he will discover that, although the *number* of Danish ships and seamen is *increased*, their utility and value to their country is *diminished*. Accustomed to a long practice of perjury and fraud, in the protection of the property committed by the merchants of France to their care, and to the sweets of the wages so dishonourably earned, they would directly turn that hatred towards their own Sovereign for putting an end to their lucrative traffic, which they now utter against England. The *loyalty* of their *hearts* towards their Sovereign, laws, and country, is contaminated. As it has been with Prussia, it may be with Denmark, and all the important concessions made to France, serve only to pave the way to her becoming a conquest of that military nation.

Thus is England half avenged of those neutral maritime courts, whose glaring *partiality* to France only tends to shake the pillars of their own existence. But surely, in an hour of such unexampled peril, England ought first to secure her own safety, without regard to the good or ill will of a few angry neutrals. This she neglects to do, as long as she suffers *any neutrals* to be sent into her own ports of naval equipment. Excepting the members of the Admiralty courts and agents, few people benefit any thing by detaining neutrals ; and rather than incur such alarming hazard, it were far more wisely done to give up the exercise of that barren right altogether. No account is kept of the crews of each ship : no regulations enforced relative to their being obliged to be on board at any certain time. All hours of night or day they may row out into the Sound, or the Hamoaze along the shore of the dock-yard. But it would perhaps be imprudent to say what *they might do*, lest it should be attempted.

It is said in Plymouth there have been at one

time upwards of *two thousand* persons there belonging to detained vessels, and certainly a third part of that number were subjects of countries belonging to France.

Some of the masters and mates, and many of the supercargoes, are men of science, of gentlemanly manners and appearance ; well versed in modern languages ; they speak English as fluently as their mother-tongue : they have money in abundance : they frequent the inns, news-rooms, balls and private parties : get introduced into the best circles of the place, into the dock-yard, magazines, on board the ships in the bay—*Enfin*, see all, hear all, and no doubt—report all.

You can scarcely move in the streets at Plymouth but there's a foreigner at your heels. It is notorious to any one that knows Plymouth, that to persons who wish to know the *destinations* of ships or fleets when fitting out, that it may be discovered. Provisions, cloathing, medicine, the quantities and kind, point out to a sagacious mind ; and certainly of the inhabitants

in general, many are less warmly attached to their king and country than they ought. Perhaps the seditious discourses they are perpetually hearing from the lips of the neutrals, insensibly infect their minds with disloyalty. Many foreigners, attracted by the profits to be derived from transacting business with the masters, supercargoes, &c. of the detained vessels, have flocked thither, increased the number and the danger.

It seems as though Government had *forgotten* that England depends on the *preservation* of her fleets. One base *incendiary* might complete in a few hours that which the force of all our foes might never be able to accomplish by honourable warfare. It is true that no calamity has happened to us ; but that is the very reason *why* the evil should be immediately removed. When the blow has been struck, if it succeeds, there may be nothing left to save, and surely *prevention* is ever better than punishment.

When neutrals give intelligence to England, it is often false—sometimes meant to betray.

Such was the case with a neutral spoken by a cruizer off Dieppe. The master said that a privateer lay in the harbour easily to be captured. Some boats were sent in filled with forty brave seamen, headed by officers of ardent courage. They found the privateer, boarded her, and cut her cable. She was full of soldiers, and fully prepared for action. Out of 40 hands, 28 were killed or wounded. Two young and gallant officers were slain ; a third, covered with wounds, fell on the deck of the privateer ; and thus ended the disastrous enterprize. The treacherous neutral who gave the fatal information *belonged to Dieppe* : belonged to the same person as the privateer did ; was under the *Prussian* flag, and neutralized in Emden.

But not so is it with the *intelligence* they carry to the French. Towards France the hearts of the neutral masters incline, and England *they hate*. This accounts, without throwing *interest* into the scale, for the deceptions they practise on us, and the zeal and perseverance they manifest for France.

When neutral vessels have discharged their cargoes at Plymouth, the masters provide themselves with newspapers, *Steel's lists*, army-lists, &c., and away they sail *direct* to France. Perhaps in twenty-four hours they arrive at a French port. Would it not be a stroke of *fair policy* to oblige every neutral released to proceed first to some port in the territories whose flag she bears, *before* he enters an hostile port, under penalty of confiscation?

There is no kind of necessity for sending any *detained neutral* to Plymouth. Dartmouth, to the eastward of that port, and Fowey to the westward, each but the sail of an hour or two distant, would receive and harbour in equal security with Plymouth every neutral detained. Of all the harbours in England, one of the most secure and convenient is that of *Dartmouth*. *Fowey* is no less distinguished. In either of those ports secure moorings for the ships, and store-room for the cargoes, is always to be procured. They are equi-distant from Plymouth; and in passing to and from London from Fowey, there would be no necessity whatever to take Plymouth in the

route. The trade of Dartmouth is much fallen off—it is nearly annihilated. The warehouses are lying empty. The labouring poor are in want of employ. Taken abstractedly, it would be an act of humanity in government to order the cruizers to send in the neutrals to Dartmouth, which are captured off the Start. With Fowey the writer is not equally well acquainted, but certain he is, that no kind of hardship or disadvantage whatever could be felt by the neutrals, whilst the source perhaps of endless and irremediable calamity would be dried up and done away.

If the recent decisions of the Admiralty court do not take away all inclination of the commanders of His Majesty's cruizers, and of private ships of war, to detain any neutrals, and a deficiency of warehouse-room should be found at Fowey (for at Dartmouth there is no fear of any want of warehouses) then the Court of Admiralty, when the cargoes are ordered to be delivered, would by application grant an order of removal for Plymouth. But even then, there should be some regulation as to *time*, to be allowed for the delivery, staying beyond

which, a penalty should be levied on the prize agents.

Nor ought any foreigner of any description to be suffered in Plymouth, without an order signed by the secretary of state, and every week, at least, he ought to be called on. Nor would it be amiss, in time of war, that each inn, or lodging-house keeper should be obliged to send in every morning, an account of what foreigners arrive at their houses, with the same elucidations as is customary in fortified places on the continent.

These facts are perhaps deserving of more attention than they will receive. It has been but too often the case, that the most important amendments have been abandoned because the *private interest* of some favoured individual should not be affected. There are in Plymouth a few merchants whose private interest would be affected, should the sending in of neutrals to their port cease to have place. But they could follow them to their place of rendezvous without material inconvenience. Shall our fleets and arsenals

be exposed to the most remote danger of conflagration, rather than incommodate, in a trifling degree, the private arrangements of a few prize-agents ? For their convenience, must the destination of our fleets, ships, or expeditions be exposed to detection ? Attracted by the superior safety and convenience of *Dartmouth*, several privateers have already sent their detained vessels to that port. And, unless the government should fear to offend Admiral Montagu by raising his *blockade* of that invaluable port, they would do well to order the men of war to follow the example.

Once more the writer presumes to observe, that the fact of no misfortune having yet occurred from any of the sources pointed out as sources of danger, is no kind of argument to disprove it never may. What will be our situation, insulated and alone, struggling against the conqueror of Europe, should Buonaparte detach our allies from the war they now are waging ? Yet, even then, let England rise like a giant in wrath ; let her freely and unshackled employ against the foe the weapons that Pro-

vidence has placed in her grasp—an invincible fleet; an armed and loyal people; and she could shower such visitations on her enemy, as would teach him that this *little spot* was preserved sacred to freedom, when a world fell prostrate at his feet, and wring from his reluctant heart, a firm and honourable peace.

But it is not luke-warm, or imbecile measures will effect it. Would the government adapt its energies to the dangers which menace the empire, the whole people would second their efforts, and the country would be saved.

To the subjects treated of in these pages, the writer invokes the attention of Ministers and Parliament. May they bear in mind the appropriate fable of *Cassandra*, whose warnings were laughed at by the Trojans, till their Illion was in flames.

THE END.

